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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF
THE ALBERTA SCHOOL SYSTEM

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

BY

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EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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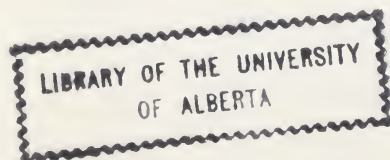
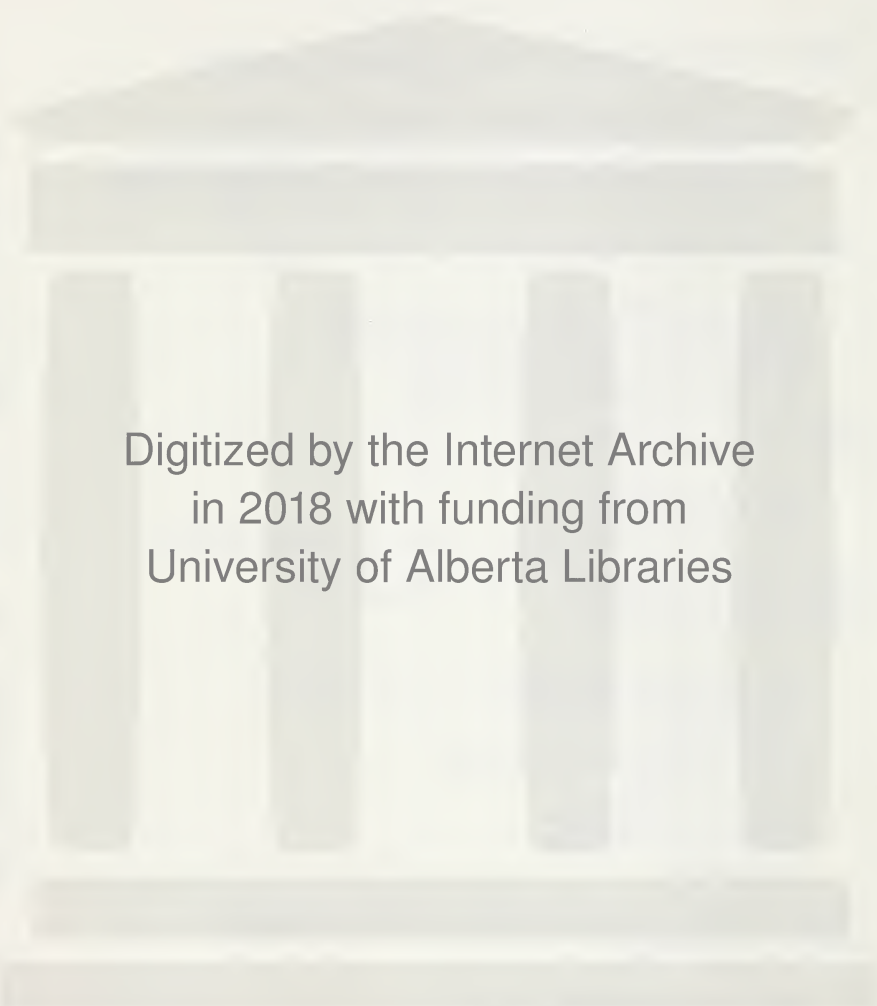


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CHAPTER I

EARLY MISSION SCHOOLS IN THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

The early history of education in that part of the North-West Territories which is now Alberta is the history of the early mission schools and of the missions established by them. Records of this early period are already meagre and living witnesses to it are fast disappearing. A few monuments remain in the form of old mission houses, one of the best preserved of which is located at St. Albert, a few miles north of Edmonton. Sources of information regarding the pioneer efforts in education are confined largely to personal letters and diaries of missionaries, and to casual records in the files of various religious and missionary organizations. Specific references to these will be made in footnotes.

The records, though meagre, are sufficient to reveal in clear outline the high courage and energy of men who as missionaries and educators faced the severest kinds of hardship and privation with, all too often, a minimum of preparation and frequently with a minimum of support. Physical accommodation for educational activities was usually of the crudest: a circle around a campfire, a smoke-filled tent, at best a room in a fort. The goodwill of the Indian chiefs was usually to be counted upon, if for no other reason than that some fear might be put into the hearts of unruly warriors. The chiefs themselves looked forward to the visits of anyone who brought them news of the outside world. The trading companies were less impressed with the benefits to be derived from the services of the missionaries.

The Hudson's Bay Company Changes its Policy

From 1840 onward the Hudson's Bay Company promoted the policy of establishing missions amongst the Indians and of encouraging the activities of missionaries. The impulse behind this apparent altruism was probably

to be found in the voice of criticism rising in England touching the record of overseas trading companies. There was also the fact that the Company had been forced to abandon some of its trading posts in areas overrun by warring Indian tribes. A minimum of astuteness was required for Company officials to see that any abatement of Indian fighting temper would be likely to stimulate fur trading.

The first missions were established along the North Saskatchewan and Mackenzie basins, at such points as Lac La Biche, Lac Ste. Anne, and Smoking Lake. The rivers provided natural highways for the canoe, the local tribes--mainly Cree and others who spoke Cree--were friendly, and furs were relatively abundant. The region south of the Saskatchewan, at least as far as the Battle River, was a "No Man's Land", the battleground of the Cree and the Blackfoot. Most of the Company trading posts, and consequently the missions, were located at a comparatively safe distance north of the Saskatchewan.

Missions and Missionaries of the Catholic Church

The first priests, on whose identity the records are clear, were Father Demers and Blanchet, who arrived at Fort Edmonton in 1838. Of the visits of earlier Jesuit missionaries to the Western lands there remain only vague traditions among a few Indian tribes. Father Morice doubts the authenticity of such traditions and suggests rather that elements of Catholic teaching were introduced by Iroquois Indians in the employ of the trading companies and by French voyageurs from Eastern Canada.

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1. Martin, R.M., "The Hudson's Bay Territories and Vancouver Island," London, England: H.W. Boone, 1849.
 2. Morice, A.G. Rev., "History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada," Toronto, Ontario: Hussen Book Company, Ltd., 1910

In 1842 Father Thibault arrived at Lac Ste. Anne and during the following year established the Ste. Anne Mission. His period of service was brief and little was done in education. His successor, Father Bourassa, spent most of his time in winning the goodwill of the Cree and Blackfoot Indians, a goodwill which contributed greatly in subsequent years to the success of the Catholic work amongst the native peoples.

In 1852 Father Lacombe arrived at Fort Edmonton where he spent a reasonably comfortable year studying Cree and trying his hand at teaching both young and old within the fort. Every day he recorded his progress in mastering the language and set down the principles which he had learned. In subsequent years he prepared and published a Cree dictionary.

The Edmonton fort and settlement at this time were described by Captain Palliser in papers published in 1859:

"In shape it is an irregular hexagon, about 100 yards long and 70 yards wide, and contains a population of about 40 men, 30 women and 80 children Little agriculture is carried on about Fort Edmonton owing partly to the want of acquaintance with even the leading principles of agriculture and principally from the disinclination of both men and women to work steadily at any agricultural occupation."¹

According to the Edmonton Bulletin the inhabitants consisted of
Orkney men, French Canadians, and Metis, with Cree as a common language.²

Father Lacombe mentions the difficulties he encountered with the overbearing attitude of the Company's officers, especially those of a different faith; but he admits that no mission work would have been possible without the aid extended by the Company. He reports that the missionary did not dare to discuss the ethics of the fur trade. These difficulties led him to change his

1. Palliser, J. Capt., "Papers Relative to the Exploration by Captain Palliser," London, England: George William Barr and William Spottiswood, 1859 p.116.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, December 27, 1884.

residence to Ste. Anne, but he continued travelling, helping Father Ramez to establish the mission at Lac La Biche in 1854, and visiting the Blackfoot in 1857. His success was such that Bishop Tache was delighted to find the Indians behaving so well at Ste. Anne after the scenes of debauchery he had witnessed at Fort Pitt.^I

From about 1859 there began a period of continuous effort in education. In that year three nuns arrived at Lac Ste. Anne. In the next year a Blackfoot chief took advantage of the visit of the Bishop to ask for a missionary among his people. This influenced Father Lacombe to move nearer to Edmonton, and with the Bishop's blessing a new settlement was begun at St. Albert in 1861. This post became the centre of a Metis settlement. In the meantime, Father Lacombe took advantage of the presence of an oblate novice to begin a school at Fort Edmonton for the children of the Company's clerks and servants. Many of the children, according to Father Lacombe, wore deer-skin garments and carried lumps of pemmican or dried meat in their pockets as dainties. At the sound of the voyageurs' songs they flew like arrows from bows to welcome the brigade home. When gunshot signals arose from the south side they rushed to see what stranger would return in the boat sent across from the fort.²

The settlement at St. Albert as of 1863 was described by Viscount Milton and W. B. Cheadle:

"At Lake St. Alban's about nine miles north of the Fort, a colony of freemen have formed a small settlement which is presided over by a Romish priest....."

"The priest's house was a pretty white building with a garden around it and adjoining the chapel, a school and a nunnery."

I. Frog Lake

2. Hughes, Katherine, "Father Lacombe, The Black Robe Voyageur," Toronto, Ontario: McLelland and Stuart, 1920

"He built a chapel and established schools for the halfbreed children.....it must be confessed the Romish priests far exceed their Protestant brethren in missionary enterprise and influence."¹

The missionary work of the Church went on apace. Father Lacombe built a house and chapel for himself at Fort Edmonton next to the Big House where the Government Buildings now stand. He organized a colony of Cree Indians on the banks of the Saskatchewan half way between Edmonton and Fort Pitt, which he called St. Paul des Cries. To this colony in 1865, he transported from St. Albert fifty bushels of seed-grain, a plow, and provisions. His purpose was to organize a second Cree settlement duplicating that at St. Alberta.

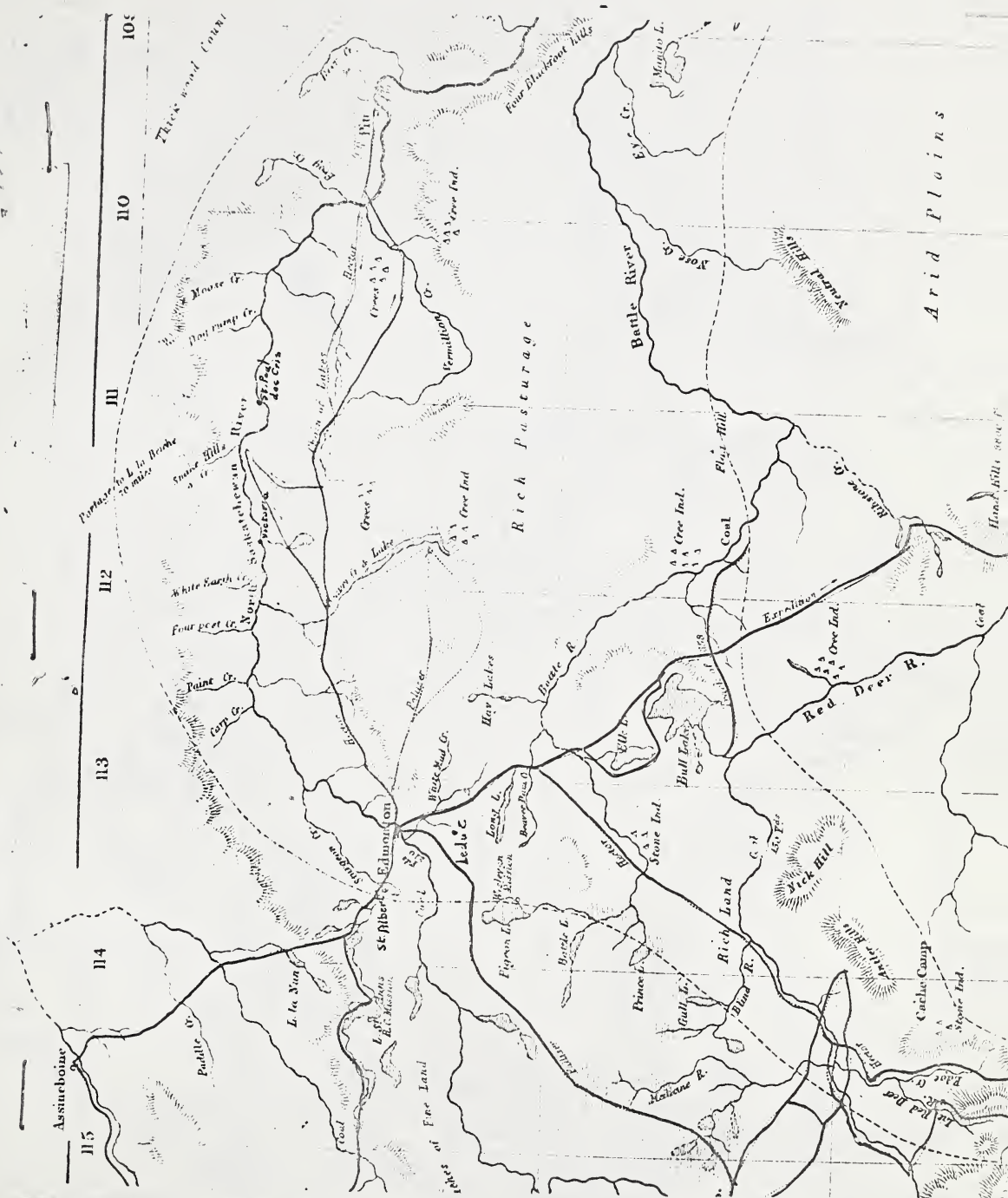
Having thus completed the framework of an organization along the banks of the Saskatchewan, Father Lacombe proceeded to extend his work into the territory of the Blackfoot Indians south of the river. He told his biographer that he found the Blackfoot less docile than the Cree, but on the other hand they responded much more readily to an appeal based on logic. By way of illustrating the meaning of Christianity, he invented the famous³ Ladder, a copy of which may still be found in St. Albert. But in spite of all his labours he discovered that enduring results could be accomplished only through the establishment of Indian Schools. To raise funds for this purpose he journeyed to Eastern Canada only to find that the Church had other plans for him. His missionary work in the West was interrupted for many years.

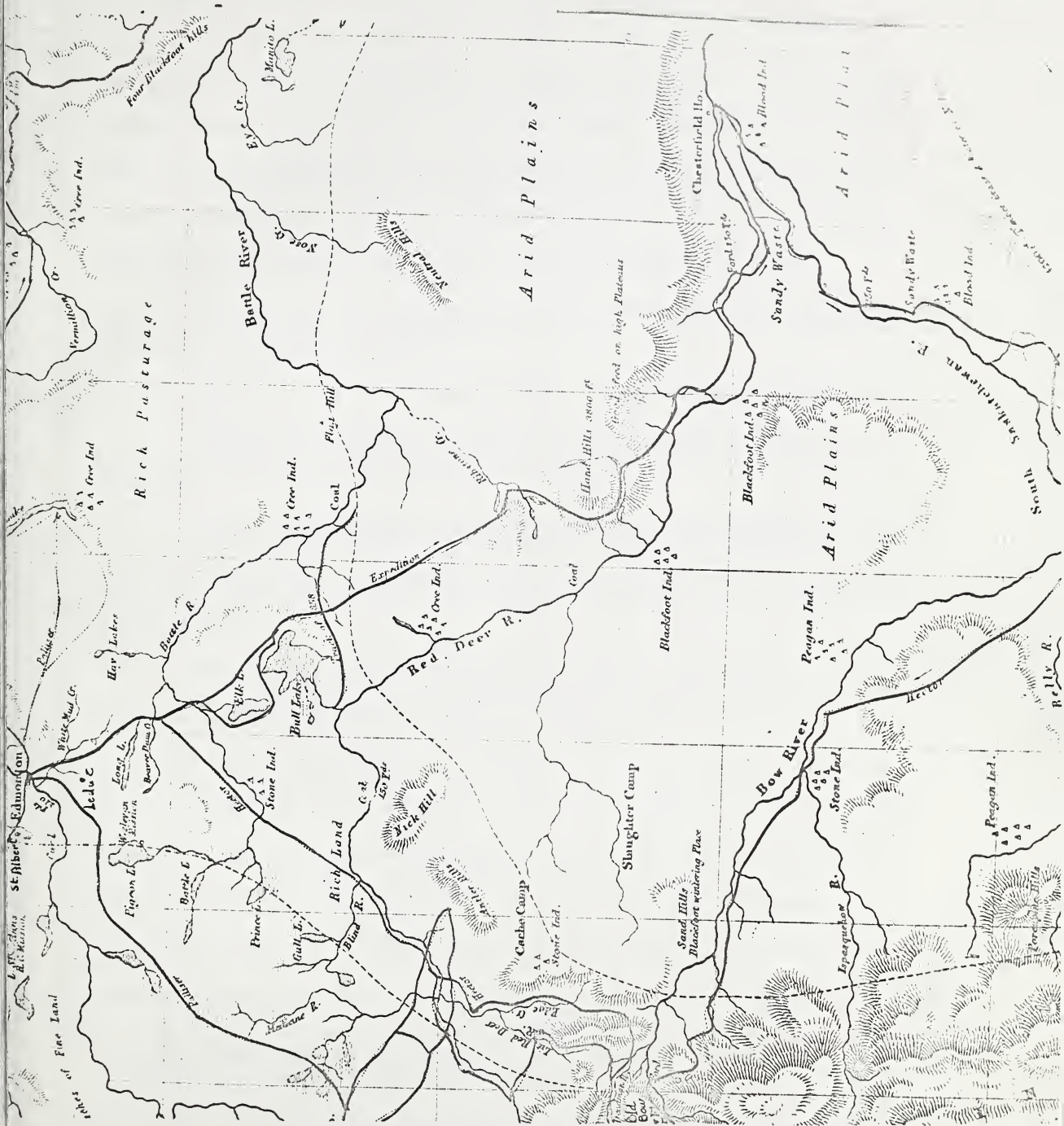
1. Milton, Viscount, and Cheadly, W.B., "North-West Passage by Land," London, England: Caswell, Potter and Galpin, 1865.

2. Chief Factor's house built by Factor Rowand.

3. A colored poster depicting stories from the Bible.

FIGURE 1





Missions and Missionaries of the Protestant Church

The first Protestant missionaries in the present province of Alberta were sent by the authorities of British Methodism. George Simpson had his attention directed to the state of Indian missions by Rev. James Evans who was stationed at a post in the western portion of Upper Canada. Five missionaries were employed. In the minutes of the Council held at Norway House on June 18, 1840, there is the following resolution:

"That three missions be established in the Northern Department for this season—say one at Norway House.....and one at Edmonton under the charge of Rev. Mr. Rundle."²

There is also a reference to the stipends of the missionaries:

"That the gentleman in charge of York Factory be directed to issue an extra Commissioned Gentleman's Allowance for the use of the mission."³

At the next meeting of the Council on the twenty-fourth of June the Chief Factors were instructed to give every assistance to missionaries in travelling.

Rev. Robert Rundle arrived on September, 1840, to take charge of the whole Saskatchewan Basin. He does not seem to have been in any way fitted for the hardships he was to endure. He had to undergo severe physical suffering, and his lack of success with the Indians was very disheartening. He felt his failure keenly because of the arrival of two Roman Catholic priests, Father de Smett, and later "Mr." Thibault. The latter especially seemed to have qualities which drew the Indians to him.

1. Rundle, R.T., "Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Robt. Terril Rundle." Typewritten diary in the possession of the Legislative Library, Government Buildings, Edmonton, Alberta.

2. Oliver, F.H., "The Canadian North-West, Vol. 2, "Ottawa, Ontario: Publications of the Canadian Archiver, No. 9, Ottawa Printing Bureau. 1914, P.813.

3. Ibid., P.814

In spite of his difficulties, Rundle left a lasting influence which his successors readily acknowledged. No matter how short a period the Indians spent near the fort ¹ they sought opportunities to meet the adults, but also called the children together to teach them whatever was possible under the circumstances. Twenty years later John McDougall described Meskepetoon, an Indian Chief and a pupil of Rundle's who might have been a credit to any race of people. He had actually mastered the Cree alphabet and learned to read the Gospels in Cree. Through the nobility of his character he exerted a remarkable ascendancy over the whole Cree nation. For one so ill-trained for western life, Rundle travelled over a very wide area. At one period we find him "instructing the children of the fort ² in the elements of Christianity." Three weeks later he is carrying on lessons with Indian children somewhere on the Battle River. In the next year he started a school for a short period at Lesser Slave Lake. ³ Only Father Lacombe, of all the missionaries, can be compared with Rundle in the range of territory covered.

Rundle's work in the field of education was not extensive. The Indians seldom remained long enough anywhere to permit the building of school or church. Schooling was at best secondary to missionary work and Rundle was primarily a missionary. He was recalled to Eastern Canada in 1846.

Upon the departure of Rundle the far west was left without any Protestant missionaries until 1855. In that year Rev. Thomas Woolsey was

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1. Fort Edmonton.
 2. Rundle, R.T., "Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Robt. Terrill Rundle." Legislative Library, Government Buildings, Edmonton, Alberta.
 3. Ibid.

sent to Edmonton and Rev. H. B. Steinhauer went to establish a mission at
I
Whitefish Lake. Their advent meant the establishment of closer relations
with the Canadas. While it is generally known that our system of education
was obtained from Ontario, few realize that our early missionaries were
intimately associated with the Ryerson brothers in their work amongst the
Indians in Ontario at Rama and elsewhere. Steinhauer himself was one of the
Indians among whom Egerton Ryerson had been a missionary. Woolsey had been
ordained at Rama.

Woolsey did not have much opportunity to establish any permanent
missions, though he visited Pigeon Lake and Smoking Lake. John McDougall
described him as a very gentle sort of person totally unfitted by training
and experience for the hardships of pioneer life. On the other hand,
Steinhauer had no difficulty in adapting himself to the new conditions. We
find him establishing a permanent settlement at Whitefish Lake almost
immediately. It was the custom in early missionary work to apprentice a
novice to teaching. Taking advantage of this practice on the arrival of a
novice at his mission Steinhauer established a school. Its success
attracted the notice of visitors to the colony. On his visit to the
school Dr. Grant eulogized the efforts of the Methodists because of the
establishment of schools among the Indians, declaring this to be the only
lasting work. At an exhibition held in the Whitefish School on the occasion
of his visit, the pupils surprised him with their attainment in the common
school subjects. The report of Mr. Snyder, the teacher, showed that he had
eighty names on the roll. Fortunately for his school the Indians could
spend a good deal of their time in the settlement since the fish were plentiful

2. Rundle, R. T., "Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Robt. Terrill Rundle,
"Legislative Library, Government Buildings, Edmonton, Alberta."

while the territory was inaccessible to the war-parties of the marauding Blackfoot. As it was, both Mr. Snyder and Mr. Steinhauer followed their charges even on the annual buffalo hunt, teaching part of the time and hunting the rest. This was the most successful Protestant mission of the time, approaching in its stability even that of St. Albert.

The outstanding achievements in the establishment of mission schools must, however, be credited to the efforts of the McDougalls, father and son. George McDougall, the father, was another son of Ontario to take up the Protestant cause in the West. Though he started late in life as a missionary in the same field as others in Ontario, he was appointed in 1860 as "C hairman of the District embracing the mission stations of the Wesleyans" in Western Canada. His determination is noticeable from the energetic way in which he took control. Leaving his family at Norway House in 1862, he and his son John set out on a visit of inspection to the mission at Whitefish Lake and to a new one at Smoking Lake just established by Woolsey.

At Smoking Lake the McDougalls found only a small house and a roofless stable. Woolsey had established the mission far enough north of the Saskatchewan River to be out of reach of the Blackfoot. John McDougall estimated the distance to be about thirty five miles north of the Saskatchewan River but this was an exaggeration. The ruins of the two buildings which were found by later settlers were about twenty two miles away from the river. With characteristic resolution George McDougall ordered the removal of the mission to the banks of the North Saskatchewan where Paken now stands and re-named it Victoria.

During the next two years a mission house and a school were built

by the McDougalls on the new site. Mr. Connor, a trader, was hired for the first year to teach the children of the McDougalls, the Steinbrenns, and any Indian children in the neighborhood. Connor was drowned on a trip to Lac La Biche a year later, but a permanent teacher, Mr. Mackenzie, was obtained from Winnipeg. He had been educated at St. John's College in Winnipeg and later took holy orders in the Anglican Church. Both Mrs. Young and Mrs. Wood, the only surviving daughters of George McDougall, remember quite well the type of teaching. School was opened with the Lord's Prayer, but there was little formal religious teaching. The books were Ontario textbooks and the subjects were those taught in Alberta until a few years ago. Connor, of course, was only a trader serving as a teacher for the time being, probably taking this method of paying his board bill. On the other hand, Mackenzie was a trained teacher. Mrs. Young and Mrs. Wood, in conversation with the writer in 1938, paid special tribute to his ability in music. It seems that soon after their arrival there was a large influx of English and Scotch halfbreeds from the Red River. The children made a welcome addition to the choir which Mr. Mackenzie was training. Dr. Grant paid his visit at this time after he had left Whitefish Lake. In his book he noted that there were sixty children on the roll, forty halfbreed and twenty Indian. Apparently he visited the colony just as Mr. Mackenzie was leaving to make place for Mr. Snyder from Whitefish Lake. Such were the beginnings of education in Alberta.

After the smallpox epidemic in 1870 the McDougalls moved from Victoria to Edmonton where a night school was opened. To this night school came not only the children of the employees, but the employees too. Comment might be made on the shortsightedness of the Hudson's Bay Company in failing to provide for the educational needs of the community. Presumably,

however, the conditions of life imposed limitations and dictated priorities. The absence of a garden was noted by Mrs. Young, who states though that for a successful venture in gardening there was too little room inside the fort walls and too many marauding Indians outside them. George McDougall forthwith opened a school and planted a garden. His young daughter, now Mrs. Leslie Wood, with some pride but with much fear, took temporary charge of the school.

It is fitting at this point in the narrative to attempt an estimate of George McDougall's efforts in the field of education. Had he been one of the foremost educators of his time, he could not have labored more diligently or more successfully. However, he was a simple man with very little of the learning that is considered necessary in a teacher of the present day. He had begun as a pioneer farmer, and had seen the vision which grew with the education he received. To the end of his life, schooling remained a part of his religion, as did all progress. Wherever he established a mission centre the school immediately followed the church; rather the school was within the church. Immediately on the appointment of the missionary there followed usually the appointment of a school teacher. The teaching, furthermore, was not confined to the ordinary school subjects, but included an attempt to acquaint both adults and children with farming methods, especially those fitted to a pioneer country. In this he followed the sound example set by Father Lacombe. (There is evidence that John visited both St. Albert and Lac La Biche to obtain grain and chickens for Victoria.) And who could have passed on these methods better than this eminently practical man whose experiences had never been divorced from pioneer life? In these efforts he not only worked himself but enlisted the help of his children.

The later history of the methodists as educators can be dismissed very briefly. There is no reference to any school established at Pigeon Lake though John McDougall began his work there in 1865. Victoria became a Hudson's Bay post in 1864. Woolsey returned to Ontario that same year after having spent nine years in the territory. In 1867 a new missionary arrived in the person of Rev. Peter Campbell, who was first stationed at Edmonton and later at Victoria. With Campbell also came the two Snyders who taught in the mission schools. In 1872 a conference was held at Winnipeg at which John McDougall was instructed to establish a mission in the southern part of the province. He chose a site where Morley now stands. The mission was primarily built for the Stoney Indians but it was also intended to reach the Blackfoot who were gradually being tamed by the disappearance of the buffalo and the terrible inroads of the epidemic of small-pox which destroyed half of the Indian population in 1870. The first teacher at this mission was a Dr. Vasey of whom we hear later as the first teacher in Edmonton in the employ of a voluntary organization of citizens. Unfortunately, the southern school did not achieve the success of other schools since the Stoney Indians were and still remain a nation of hunters. An orphanage was attempted but later closed. A mission expressly for the Blackfoot was established in Fort Macleod in 1880. Unfortunately for its future as an Indian mission Fort Macleod soon became a white settlement.

During this period we must remember that the Catholic Church was already established in the southern part of what is now Alberta. When John McDougall founded the Morley Mission, he found Father Scollen already at work in the neighborhood. Father Lacombe had been visiting the Blackfoot for years, and missions had been planted by the Catholics at both Fort

Macleod and Calgary.

Weakness and Strength of Early Mission Work

This short account must end the history of educational effort among the Indians. Great as were the efforts and sacrifices of the religious pioneers, the main stream of educational progress sprang from a new source with the immigration of white settlers during the eighties. Individual enterprise, however brilliant, has never been able to approach state effort in the magnitude of its achievements. Nor must we overestimate the level of education actually achieved during this early period. The work was at best primary as judged by our present standards. For a higher education, even McDougall was forced to send his children to a boarding school in the East. In some of the schools Cree was taught as well as English and French. With the limited amount of time at the disposal of teacher and pupil, very little more than basic reading and writing was possible. Wisely, the early missionaries were more intent upon teaching the Indian how to live than upon forcing theoretical book-learning upon him.

There has been a tendency on the part of some people to minimize this effort of the early missionaries in the field of education, but, with all our vaunted progress, we have not been able to do much more in our modern Dominion Indian Schools. Indians who were settled around missions and taught farming methods by Father Lacombe, and, to a lesser extent, by the McDougalls and the Steinhauers, remain settled to the present day. No amount of teaching in the use of modern machinery has been able to do more and it must be admitted that the white educator has been far less successful with the American Indian than he has, for example, with the New Zealand Maori.

On the other hand we cannot ~~blame~~ the early missionaries from blame for some of the lack of success. Very often their zeal to advance the interests of their particular church blinded them to the effect competition would have on the Indians. Here and there throughout the writing of John McDougall fear and distrust of the Catholic Church creep through. The whole business of Catholic-Protestant rivalry was probably bewildering to the Indians and must have made them more reluctant to accept Christianity which would bring school and settled life.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF A STATE SYSTEM

By an Order in Council of the British Government dated June 23, 1870, Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory became a part of the Dominion of Canada and the parliament of Canada obtained full rights to "legislate for the future welfare and good government" of the inhabitants of this territory. ^I This order merely confirmed the agreement in April, 1869, between the Canadian Government and the Hudson's Bay Company which the Imperial Government had sponsored. Immediately following the agreement and the Red River Rebellion the Province of Manitoba was established by an act which received the assent of the Governor-General on May 12, 1870. The ² clause limiting the territory in question reads as follows:

"And with respect to such portion of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, as is not included in the Province of Manitoba, it is hereby enacted, that the Lieutenant-Governor of the said province shall be appointed by Commission under the Great Seal of Canada, to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the same, under the name of the North-West Territories, and subject to the provisions of the act in the next section mentioned."

The North-West Territories Act, 1871.

In the following year the North-West Territories Act provided a government for this territory consisting of a council of twelve members with the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba as president of the council. ³ Though its powers were but vaguely defined, the Council proceeded forthwith to legislate

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1. Oliver, E. H., Prof., "The Canadian North-West, Vol. 11", Ottawa, Ontario: Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 9. Government Printing Bureau, 1915, pp. 939-944.
 2. The Manitoba Act, Statutes of Canada, 1870, ch. 3.
 3. An Act to make further provision for the Government of the North-West Territories, Statutes of Canada, 1870, ch. 16.

on such matters as it thought necessary for good government in the territory. It also sought to impress upon the Dominion Government the importance of proceeding immediately with Indian Treaties. Among other recommendations we find the following:

I
".....the Treaty should provide for the establishment of Schools for the education of Indians, for the purchase of agricultural implements, cattle, and also for teaching the Indians the proper mode of cultivating the soil."

Other acts provided for the regulation of schools maintained in the North-West Territories by voluntary contributions under the control of the different religious bodies. These institutions were maintained primarily for Indian orphans. One clause enacted that these schools were bound to provide "proper nutriment, medical care, clothing and education..until such child reach the age of sixteen years." There is no record of any debate as to the inability of any school to provide the above. The provision was probably a formal one inserted to protect children over whom special rights were granted in these institutions.

The North-West Territories Act, 1875

In 1875 Alexander Mackenzie introduced a new bill dealing with the government of the North-West Territories. By this time the importance of the region west of Manitoba had increased sufficiently to require a separate seat of government and a separate governor. The bill also provided for a new Council not exceeding five members. Notwithstanding any ideas of the increasing importance of this territory which the Dominion Government might have, the difficulties of government during this

1. Oliver, E.H., Prof., "The Canadian North-West - Its Early Development and Legislative Records," Ottawa, Ontario: Government Printing Bureau, 1915. p. 123.

2. Ibid., pp. 1034-1035

3. The North-West Territories Act, Statutes of Canada, 1875, ch. 45.

period prevented it from taking further action so that the act was not proclaimed until a year later. The new Council was appointed in October, 1876. It consisted of the governor, the Hon. David Laird, the two stipendiary magistrates of the North-West Territories and the Commissioner of the North-West Mounted Police.¹ The view of the government at Ottawa with respect to this Council is evident from the clause of the act which outlined the duty of the Governor. He was "to administer the Government under instructions from time to time given him by Orders-in-Council or by the Secretary of State". The duty of the Council was "to aid the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the North-West Territories."

The first Council met at Livingstone, Swan River, where the North-West Mounted Police were quartered, and remained there while other premises were being erected at Battleford.² The four members were the following: Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Richardson, Matthew Ryan, Lieutenant Colonel James F. McLeod, and the governor himself. In addition, Amedee E. Forget was appointed Clerk of the Council. All members were sworn in on November 27, 1876, within two months of the proclamation of the act.

Two sections of this North-West Act merit our special consideration. One deals specifically with the power of the Council with respect to education. This section (11) reads as follows:

"When, and so soon as any system of taxation shall be adopted, in any district or portion of the North-West Territories, the Lieutenant-Governor by and with the consent of the Council or Assembly, as the case may be, shall pass all necessary ordinances in respect to education; but it shall therein be always provided that a majority of the ratepayers of any district or portion of the North-West Territories or any lesser portion or subdivision thereof, by whatever name the same be known, may establish such

1. Brown, James, "Education in the North-West, 1891." (Typewritten copy of article published in The Winnipeg Monthly Journal, 1891) Legislative Library, Government Buildings, Edmonton, Alberta.

2. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, 1877.

schools therein as they may think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of taxes therefor, and further that the minority of the ratepayers therein, whether Protestant or Catholic, may establish separate schools therein, and that, in such latter case, the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to the assessments of such rates as they may impose upon themselves in respect thereof."

The other section (13) is worthy of mention because it indirectly affected the establishment of school districts later on. It provided for the erection of electoral districts by the proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor as soon as any district of the Territories not exceeding one thousand miles in area should contain a population of one thousand inhabitants of adult age, exclusive of aliens or unenfranchised Indians. Should the population of the district increase to two thousand, the act provided that such inhabitants should be entitled to elect a second representative. When the number of all members elected amounted to twenty-one, the appointed Council was to cease its existence and the elected members were to constitute the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories and all the powers vested by this act in the Council were to be henceforth vested in and exercised by the Legislative Assembly.

From the above we can see that it was the purpose of Parliament to establish separate schools with powers similar to those of Ontario and Quebec, with a probable preference for the Quebec system where state control is almost limited to the provision of revenue, leaving most of the power in the hands of the church. Strangely, the act was passed under the guidance of Mackenzie who headed the party which had shown the greatest bitterness against any concession to the French or the Roman Catholics. In the debate, Edward Blake stated that the purpose of the clause dealing with separate schools would be the laying down of a general principle with respect to public instruction in order to avert the heartburnings and difficulties which

certain other parts of the Dominion had experienced. It might be said that he gave voice to the views which were acceptable to both parties in the Dominion parliament. The Liberal party supported the measure because office had brought its responsibilities, and there was a real desire to show a spirit of fairness and friendliness. On the other hand, the Conservative party had not yet sufficiently recovered from the disastrous defeat of 1873 to show any desire to make a public issue of the separate school question. It is probable, also, that the accord which had brought about the British North America Act was too recent for any responsible statesman to desire to break it. It might be anticipated that this attitude would change as the memory of Confederation grew dim and there arose newer statesmen who were ignorant of the issues which drew the "Fathers of Confederation" together. Another source of future discord might be expected to be the newer provinces, whose people would be concerned about their immediate problems of forging a new nation out of numerous newcomers. A mere agreement between two races or religious sects would then appear to be of minor importance. Only one voice of warning, that of George Brown, was raised, but his name had been so long connected with the struggle over religious and racial privilege that little attention was paid to his speech in the Senate.

The Petition from St. Laurent

For the first time in the history of the North-West Territories the voice of the people was heard through the medium of a petition to the North-West Council.¹ From a district in the northern part of the present province of Saskatchewan, an area settled by French Métis, there came a petition to the Council signed by Moise Guillette and Pierre Landry praying

1. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, 1877.

for assistance towards the erection of a schoolhouse and the support of a teacher. The petition came from St. Laurent which was one of the areas settled by these people after the Red River Rebellion. The petition is interesting because it shows that these people had been accustomed to social amenities which could not yet be provided in a new land.

It might have been expected that the Council, composed of men whose chief efforts were directed towards keeping peace in a pioneer country, would neglect what was obviously a luxury in a new land overrun by savages who were rapidly becoming more and more desperate because of the rapid disappearance of the herds of buffalo. Far from neglecting the matter, the members went into a committee of the whole to discuss this petition, disregarding others which dealt with ferry transportation and bridges. Nevertheless, the position of the Council made it impossible to grant any aid for educational purposes. Neither had the Dominion Government granted funds for any such purpose, nor had any provision been made for any kind of taxation. They requested "His Honor to reply to the petitioners that there are no funds.....applicable to educational purposes, and that the council do not think it expedient, at present, to consider the question of establishing a system of taxation." In spite of the difficulties they were not going to forget the matter, though the reply to the petitioners was somewhat discouraging. The resolution to the Lieutenant-Governor further suggested the following:

"That His Honour do forward the above petition to the Hon. the Minister of the Interior, in order that the Dominion Government may be made acquainted with the desire of the people of St. Laurent, which is believed to extend to other settlements in the Territories."¹

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In 1878, the Lieutenant-Governor laid on the table correspondence with the Minister of the Interior with respect to the above petition. The letter written by him to Ottawa is more specific than the answer which the Council had desired him to send to the petitioners. After a preliminary statement of the circumstances which have led him to write this letter, he continues:

"As it does not appear that the Council has now the power to impose direct taxation, except in Electoral Districts, I fear that, without some allowance from the Federal Government for general purposes such as is granted to the provinces, the children in small settlements in isolated sections of the Territories must grow up in ignorance."¹

In the remaining portion of the letter, the Hon. David Laird gives expression to his anxiety that the rising generation will be not only unfitted to exercise the franchise intelligently, but also unable to perform the active duties of life. It is evident from the daily business of the Council that the disappearance of buffalo was causing real concern.. The romantic and comparatively easy existence of the Indian and the Métis had passed. No longer was life to be one buffalo hunt after another; settled life was becoming compulsory as also were its more rigid social forms.

About a month later, on January 14, 1878, the Honorable David Mills, the Minister of the Interior, gave the following reply to the Governor's letter:

"While agreeing with you that the Council of the North-West Territories has not the power to impose direct taxation for school or other purposes, it appears to me that the Council might obtain the end in view, namely; the raising of a fund for School Corporations and giving them the right to impose a school rate. The constitutional objections of want of representation which would apply in the case of taxation by the Council, would not be applicable to School Corporations who would merely tax themselves.

1. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, 1877.

"In the event of School Corporations being established as above suggested, and it is found necessary to supplement the amount raised by them the amount so required should be placed in your estimates for the Government of the Territories, taking care to indicate the special object for which such amount is required."¹

On December 10, 1878, the Lieutenant-Governor included in his estimates an item of \$2000 for schools, following the suggestion of the Minister of the Interior. Somewhat later, in a letter dated on January 1, 1879, he wrote to Ottawa again, recommending certain changes in the North-West Territories Act. One of his suggestions was that the Act be amended by striking out "electoral district" and substituting "portion or district of the North-West Territories." However, the method was of secondary importance to Laird. In his opinion, the qualifications for an electoral district were too high. If the number of adult voters were reduced, he stated the words "electoral district" would not be so objectionable. He particularly wished to urge upon the Dominion Government the provision of an amendment which would enable the North-West Council to pass an Ordinance empowering the people of any settlement to form a school and to assess themselves toward its support.

Beyond an acknowledgement of the receipt of the letters by the Deputy Minister at Ottawa, no further notice was taken of the recommendations. Some writers are prone to regard this as an instance of habitual neglect on the part of the Dominion Government when it came to deal with matters respecting the west.² In mitigation it may be said that most of the correspondence had taken place with the Minister of the Interior. In the meantime, an election was held which was followed by the organization of

1. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, January 14, 1878.

2. Hawkes, J., "The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People", Regina, Saskatchewan: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1924. p. 341.

a new cabinet unacquainted with what was taking place. Anxiously Laird again wrote Ottawa from Battleford, July 1, 1879, requesting an answer with respect to the item he had included for schools in the estimates for the year. In return to a request from Ottawa, he wired the following scheme for school aid:

"To Colonel Dennis,
Ottawa.

Propose aid schools supported by missions or voluntary subscriptions of settlers to extent of paying half teachers' salaries where minimum average of fifteen scholars taught."¹

In spite of the encouraging request for information from Ottawa, no further notice was taken of Laird's representations by official communications. The Council held their meeting without any additional information on the matter of establishing schools. Next year there was no session as it was anticipated a new act would be passed in Ottawa, making profound changes in government. In 1881 the last session held at Battleford saw the beginning of representative government in the Territories. In that year the population had grown to such an extent around Battleford that an Electoral District was formed and an election was held. This election resulted in the election of Lawrence Clarke, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in Carleton. This was also the last year in which the Honorable David Laird held the post of Lieutenant-Governor. When the Council assembled in 1883, the Honorable David Dewdney had already been Lieutenant-Governor for a year.

The First State-Aided Schools

⁵⁰¹ Up to this time the Saskatchewan River was the highway to the west. On its banks near the Hudson's Bay forts, such as Edmonton and Battleford, all the settlements were planted. Here we also find the first newspapers. The first "Edmonton Bulletin" was issued in Edmonton in 1880 while the "Saskatchewan Herald" of Battleford came in the same year. The latter

1. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territory, 1879.

proved a convenient means of disseminating information concerning the work of the Lieutenant-Governor and his Council. In the south the only settlements that could be found were a few huts around the North-West Mounted Police posts at Macleod and Calgary. (Another such settlement grew up in the north around Fort Saskatchewan). It was the north, therefore, which began the establishment of schools separate from the ordinary mission schools.

Edmonton was the scene of the establishment of the first such school in Alberta. In the chapter on mission schools, some mention has already been made of a school begun in Edmonton by the McDougalls. Dr. Verey seems to have taught this school in Edmonton during the years 1874-1875 before he left with John McDougall to teach at the Morley Mission School.¹ Whether the school was kept open continuously in Edmonton from that time on is difficult to determine, but we find a reference with respect to a Mr. Glass who was a permanent teacher in 1880.² It is also with some surprise that we find that the Lieutenant-Governor was ultimately successful in persuading the Dominion Government to accept his submission with respect to a school grant. Through the columns of the Edmonton Bulletin, Mr. Glass informed the citizens of the settlement that half of his salary henceforth would be paid from Battleford upon the completion of certain forms.³ An advertisement in the Saskatchewan Herald stated, at the same time, that the Dominion Government would pay half of the teacher's salary when the number of pupils attending school reached fifteen. The school register was to be certified by two of the parents of the children attending school.

This last announcement stimulated a good deal of activity in the

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1. McDougall, J., Rev., "George McDougall", Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs 1902.
 2. Edmonton Bulletin, December 27, 1880.
 3. Edmonton Bulletin, January 24, 1881.

organization and building of schools outside those already established by the various missions. Already, on February 7, 1881, we find that the lower settlement in Edmonton was planning to proceed with the erection of a schoolhouse.¹ On October 29, the Edmonton Bulletin revealed that a committee of nine men in the Upper Settlement had agreed to guarantee the salary of the teacher up to the sum of fifty dollars each. Three hundred dollars had already been collected towards the building of a free school to be supported by the public. It was to be built near the Methodist Mission and was to be used as a town hall and for entertainment purposes. Finally the contract was let to Oliver and MacDonald to build a frame building for nine hundred sixty-eight dollars, and a Mr. Harris was hired as the first teacher at fifty dollars a month. Apparently the financial position of these early schools was not too prosperous, for early school fathers had to resort to various methods of raising money. There was nothing as simple as a school tax which could be levied upon every individual ratepayer. As a result, they had to resort to entertainments for the sole purpose of financial aid to the school. A loan had to be made before the building could be begun. Through these and other methods we find the year 1882 ending with the school finances in a reasonable condition. The receipts for the year were \$797.00 while the expenditures were \$805.00, the sum of eight dollars being owed to Matthew McCauley,² of whom we hear so much in the early school history of Edmonton. In spite of difficulties this school continued in operation until the establishment of a school system for the North-West Territories. Mr. Harris was followed by a Mr. Stiff while Mr. Secord, later of McDougall and Secord, Edmonton, succeeded the latter.

1. Edmonton Bulletin, February 7, 1881.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, December 20, 1882.

This was the position of Edmonton prior to the inauguration of a Territorial system. What was the progress made in other settlements? By far the greatest improvement had been made at St. Albert. The early issues of the Bulletin are filled with announcements from this school concerning visits of church dignitaries at closing exercises, and marks obtained by individual pupils. In the same year that Matthew McCauley, Frank Oliver and others were worrying about the erection of a school in Edmonton, St. Albert had already another new building which apparently replaced the one built through the efforts of Father Lacombe. At this time St. Albert had an attendance of sixty or seventy-five pupils daily, of whom about fifteen pupils were boarding in the institution. In 1881, a commercial course was already being taught in the institution, for which the fee was one hundred and fifty dollars.¹ Nor did the school take care of all the people in the district. So fast was the population growing that on December 27, 1884, the Edmonton Bulletin reported that three more schools were being organized in the St. Albert vicinity. The next year a special examination was held in the school with visitors from Edmonton in attendance. It was found that the school was made up of five divisions, and the examinations were conducted in both French and English. On exhibition were copy-books and needlework, and pupils worked problems in arithmetic on the blackboard.

The Methodist Church report for the year 1881 named four schools which were maintained by the church. These included Morley, Pigeon Lake, Edmonton, and Whitefish Lake. Surprisingly, Victoria was unable to maintain its early lead as the report showed only that there was an ordained minister at that point. Nevertheless, in the next year, Mr. Secord, later of Edmonton

1. Edmonton Bulletin, December 17, 1881.

was hired to teach school in Victoria. Whitefish Lake school had an attendance of twenty-eight pupils.

It remains only to discover whether any other attempts were made to organize schools by public bodies outside church control. Reference has already been made to a school opened in the lower settlement in Edmonton. This school was later closed owing to poor attendance¹ and financial difficulties. No photograph of this school exists. This is a pity for it was the first organized, dating back to 1874. When it was closed in the spring of 1882, the trustees owed one hundred and fifty dollars to the J. E. Harris estate and to another private individual. Apparently Mr. Harris had not remained in the employ of the upper settlement very long. To the north of Edmonton there was also a small school in existence, for we find a notice that it was to be closed for repairs so that it might be comfortable in winter.²

Calgary was late in comparison to other areas. The first school organized there was started through the efforts of Col. James Walker with twelve pupils registered. Mr. J. W. Costello was the first teacher.³

To modern minds this beginning might appear meagre and inefficient, but one must remember that state education was only beginning in many parts of Europe. England was just initiating a program of aid and supervision which was to culminate in state control; but this was not to happen for a long time yet. It is indeed fortunate that, in a pioneering period, the west received settlers of earnest and far-seeing outlook who laid the right foundations. In spite of the lack of roads and the social and economic

1. Edmonton Bulletin, April 22, 1882.

2. Ibid., November 26, 1882.

3. Bayne, D.C., "Calgary School District No. 19", Pamphlet in Legislative Library, Government Buildings, Edmonton, Alberta.

primitiveness of the era, these first fathers found time to think of their children as citizens of a future western empire, and proceeded to lay a humble but lasting foundation for that future. The work of Egerton Ryerson, in Ontario, was transplanted to the west in more than one way.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION (1885-1888)

In 1882 the seat of government was moved from Battleford to Regina because of a change in the survey of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Owing to the great changes which had taken place, no session of the Council was held in 1882. If the North-West Acts of 1875 and 1880 are studied closely it is evident that the Council was called merely to give advice, while the Lieutenant-Governor was an official of the Dominion Government. During the troublesome times when Regina was invaded by railway gangs, he did not wish to be hampered by a Council. After the excitement was over, in 1883, elections were held in six electoral districts and a session of both elected and appointed members was called on August 20, 1883. The only elected member in this year from Alberta was Frank Oliver from Edmonton. Calgary did not achieve the dignity of an elected representative until next year. Counting the Lieutenant-Governor, the numbers of elected and appointed members were equal. A definite change was seen in the business of the Council after it was strengthened by the addition of elected members, for these men introduced hosts of petitions dealing with the life of the inhabitants in the North-West.

The Oliver Bill

From one of these elected members, Mr. Frank Oliver, came the proposal to establish a school system in the North-West Territories. This initiative came from Mr. Oliver not only because of his superior public spirit, but also because he had lived for years in one of the oldest settlements in the north-west, Edmonton. As the first school supported by the public was established here, it was also fitting that the first suggestion

for a public school system should emanate from the same community.¹ His bill was referred to a special committee which ordered that the bill be printed and distributed to the members for further study. Its withdrawal cannot surprise us a great deal when we consider the large number of matters with which the Council had to deal immediately. Surveying had been neglected as also had the financial arrangements for immediate expansion. In the meantime the Lieutenant-Governor was still paying grants amounting to half of the salary of the teacher under the system inaugurated by Governor Laird in December, 1880. Though the Journals do not tell us anything of the discussions which took place in the House, we find elsewhere² that Colonel McLeod raised the objection that the Council had not the power to make such a bill operative. In his opinion, such an act could only be applied within municipalities. He referred to the following quotation:

"Whenever any Electoral District shall be found to contain not less than one thousand inhabitants, the Lieutenant-Governor, by and with the consent of the Council or Assembly, as the case may be, may pass ordinances erecting the same into a municipal corporation or corporations as they may think fit, and thenceforth the power of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council or Assembly as herein conferred in respect for municipal purposes shall cease, and every such Municipal Corporation shall thenceforth have the right to pass By-Laws for raising within such municipality, by taxation, a revenue for municipal purposes in such district....."³

The Lieutenant-Governor hoped that the necessary legislation would be passed at the next session of the Dominion parliament. In the meantime an act was passed providing for the organization of municipalities.⁴

1. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, September 13, 1883.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, September 21, 1883.

3. Statutes of Canada, 38 Vic., Chapter 49.

4. Edmonton Bulletin, September 27, 1883.



In the session of 1884, Mr. Oliver was careful to arrange that the school question should receive very early attention. The session was opened on July 3, and a Standing Committee on the provision of schools was formed the next day.¹ On July 7, Mr. Oliver introduced his bill while the Committee presented a report requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to proclaim Section 93 of the British North America Act as provided by Section 8 of the North West Act. By requiring the proclamation of Section 93, the Council was asking for the same powers with respect to schools as had been allowed the provinces. Section 9 of the North West Act provided that the Lieutenant-Governor in Council should have such powers to make ordinances for the government of the North-West Territories as the Governor-General in Council might, from time to time, confer on him. The reply of the Deputy Minister of Justice is significant in that he immediately recognized the implications of the Committee's request. In his telegram, after stating that the message had been forwarded to the Minister of Justice, he answered as follows:

"Outside of the legal question involved, it is probable that a question of policy will arise."²

That he fully recognized the implication is strange, but he did not have to wait long for other evidence of the same desire on the part of the Council. This body desired to be recognized, more and more, as a responsible body. This was the first claim to provincial rights.

In the meantime, the Council proceeded to deal with school matters as if the consent had already been given. On July 8, Mr. Rouleau, an appointed member, introduced another school bill. It also was referred to the special committee which had already been appointed to deal with Mr. Oliver's bill.

1. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, July 4, 1884.

2. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, 1884, Appendix B.



In introducing the bill, Judge Rouleau stated that his purpose was merely to remedy some of the legal weaknesses of the Oliver Bill and to make more definite the privileges of Roman Catholics. In the Edmonton Bulletin, January 17, 1885, Mr. Oliver gave an account of his stewardship as member for Edmonton and described the passage of the bill.¹ Mr. Oliver claimed that the Rouleau Bill was identical with his own. To us it seems hardly possible that Mr. Oliver, with his training as editor of the Bulletin and member of the North West Council, did not recognize the difference. We can only conclude that while the French were already active in the west to protect their privileges, the English speaking element did not yet resent those privileges. It is likely, also, that this broadmindedness was not altogether due to any magnanimity peculiar to the inhabitants of the west. We must remember that Protestants had also gained under the separate school system when they were in the minority and had no desire to see their children attend school where the majority of children were Roman Catholics. Statistics show that the Roman Catholic Church had by far the larger number of adherents. It must also be remembered that the privileges accorded to minorities under the British North America Act were granted on the insistence of Galt to protect the Protestant minority in the Eastern Townships and not to protect the Roman Catholics in the first instance. In Committee, Mr. Oliver and Mr. Rouleau agreed that a third bill be drafted embodying the better suggestions of both. What Mr. Rouleau's contribution was can easily be noted by comparing Mr. Oliver's proposed bill² with the finished ordinance as passed by the Council in 1884.³ Though the wording has been changed throughout the Ordinance

1. Edmonton Bulletin, speech of Mr. Oliver, January 17, 1885.

2. There is a printed copy of this bill at the Legislative Library, Government Buildings, Edmonton.

3. An Ordinance Providing for the Organization of Schools in the North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, No. 5, 1884.



the most startling contribution is noted in the first two pages under the heading of "Board of Education".

The Board of Education in the New School System

In this section we see that the system of Quebec had been transplanted to the west. The Ordinance empowered the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to appoint a Board of Education whose numbers were not to exceed twelve members. Of these six were to be Catholics and six Protestants. In addition to the ordinary powers the Board retained while sitting as a body, it was also empowered to resolve itself into sections, one Catholic and one Protestant, each section to have the following powers over schools which were under its control:

(1) To have under its control and management the schools of the section and to make, from time to time, such regulations as may be deemed fit for their general government and disciplines and the carrying out of the provisions of the Ordinance.

(2) To arrange for the proper examination, grading and licensing of its teachers, the recognition of certificates obtained elsewhere and for the withdrawing of the license upon sufficient cause.

(3) To select all the books, maps and globes.....provided.....such selection by the Catholic section of the Board shall be subject to approval of the competent religious authority.

(4) To appoint inspectors, who shall hold office during the pleasure of the section appointing them.

The importance accorded this section is evident from the place that was given to it in the act. Is it just possible that Mr. Oliver was biding his time as he did not think it expedient to oppose the section so early in the history of the Territories? After many sittings of the Committee of the Whole, in which some amendments were made, the Bill was finally read the third time on August 6, 1864.

Before passing on, it might be well to define the points at issue between the two rival systems as exemplified in the proposed bills of the two members. Mr. Oliver's scheme was the state system as established in Ontario.

Mr. Rouleau wished to transplant the system of Quebec where schools are controlled by the various churches. So much are we accustomed to look at the state as the source of all powers that we forget that this was not always so, and that other conditions prevailed elsewhere. Prior to the Reformation all control of schools was in the hands of the church. As time went on, this control gradually passed to the state, though some countries, especially England, still allow the church a good deal of power. Almost the last stronghold surrendered by the church anywhere has been the school. In Canada, Quebec retained a system of education controlled by the Church. In Ontario, after a long struggle, the appointment of Egerton Ryerson heralded the victory of state control. After a long study of educational organizations in the United States and Europe, he initiated the system as we know it today. Even the separate schools were modelled after those of Ireland where similar conditions prevailed.

On the other hand, it is unthinkable to the citizen of Quebec that education should remain under the control of political parties subject to the upheavals and changes of political fortune. Since the aims of education are permanent the French Canadian believes its administration should be left in the hands of a permanent body separate from, and, to a large extent, independent of the political body in power. It must not be inferred that any such reasoning prevailed in the establishment of the existing system in Quebec. The system owes its being to the control exercised by the church in all Roman Catholic countries. The reasoning grew out of the necessity to defend an established order. Furthermore the Roman Catholic Church has special claims on the gratitude of the French Canadian people. When the French Canadians were left to their fate by the French Government in the Treaty of Paris 1763, almost all the old ties were broken except those of religion. Under the Quebec Act the rights of the Roman Catholic Church were respected

in practice and guaranteed by law. That those rights were not always appreciated by the French Canadians is evident from a perusal of documents dealing with early Canadian history. The intelligentsia even sought to break the rule of the curé, but the disastrous outcome of the 1837 rebellion reinforced that control. However impatient of the power of the church he may be, the French Canadian has never failed to recognize the benefits the church brings him. On the other hand, the church, recognizing its responsibility, has sought to increase that control by encouraging isolation from other elements in the country. This is one reason why we find the habitant clinging so tenaciously to his language.

In Quebec the government interferes in educational matters only to the extent of allotting grants to the two committees. The entire administrative machinery is under the control of the Department of Public Instruction, headed not by a responsible minister, but by a superintendent who is safeguarded from political influences. This Superintendent is the president of the Council of Education which is divided into Protestant and Catholic Committees. Each Committee is supreme in the control of money allotted to it towards education and in the administration of schools under its control. The local schools must be kept up by local effort, but again, the control is denominational. There is no fear of dispute between the two bodies as they have no contact.

When the French Canadian compares this dual order with what his compatriots have to experience in the other provinces it is no wonder that he becomes bitter. He cannot understand that the difference is not so much one of race as of philosophy. The Protestants, since they are almost everywhere in control, have lost their mistrust of state systems. Besides the numerous sects amongst the Protestants make agreement upon a state school system almost a necessity. It is the clash on these two administrative

concepts that has brought the Separate School question to the fore in Canada; and the greatest strife came in the west where the basis of a new educational system was about to be laid. Messrs. Oliver and Rouleau were chosen by fate to champion the opposing philosophies.

In the meantime, the members of the Council, after providing for the organization of new schools, wished to protect those which had been receiving aid under the old arrangement. Some of these schools had got into difficulty owing to the large attendance required before aid was given by the government. Messrs. Oliver and Ross were the stormy petrels of the assembly for they took the lead in criticizing the Dominion Government for the stringency of the regulations. They insisted that the number of pupils required for the continued operation of schools already organized should be reduced from fifteen to ten.¹ Hitherto the requirement had been fifteen pupils. In his report to the house the Lieutenant-Governor stated that twelve schools were receiving aid under the old requirement with a total of 301 pupils.²

The Ordinance of 1884 caused tremendous activity in the educational field. As the Dominion Government had increased the school subsidy considerably, applications for aid began pouring in from all over the Territories. The Lieutenant-Governor reported that he had received applications from sixty-five school districts, sixty-four of which were for Public Schools and one for a Separate School. When the report was made, thirty Protestant and eight Roman Catholic schools had been proclaimed. This represented a population of 1355 children of whom 918 were already on the school rolls.³ Although a perusal of the reports would seem to indicate that there was universal support

1. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, July 24, 1884.

2. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, November 5, 1885.

3. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, November 5, 1885.

for public schools, other sources do not support this conclusion. Edmonton should serve as an example of what really did happen in most districts.

Within two months after royal assent had been given to the Ordinance a petition was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor asking for the erection of the Edmonton Protestant School District. As this was the first petition received by the Lieutenant-Governor, Edmonton might have easily had the distinction of being the first organized school district in the North-West Territories had it not been for the opposition which manifested itself almost immediately. The dissidents did not oppose a public school but objected to a school supported by compulsory taxation, believing that money raised by public subscription, as hitherto, should be sufficient. Especially loud was the outcry from the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company stationed in Edmonton, and their influence extended far beyond the employees of the Company through marriage and prestige. So strong was the protest that Mr. Oliver decided that a very tactful summing up of arguments in favor of taxation might not do much harm from the columns of his paper. Just how difficult it was for him to exercise this tact at times can be gleaned from even a cursory glance at the Bulletins of this period. The inhabitants at this time did not even attempt to hide their real thoughts from their neighbors, and sometimes expressed themselves in very emphatic language.

In his argument for public taxation, Mr. Oliver first denied any desire to include the schools in a municipal organization. Municipal organizations were very unpopular at this period because of the disasters which had followed the organization of two Manitoba towns, Emerson and Winnipeg. That such disasters might be the result not of municipal organization but of bad judgment on the part of individuals did not carry much weight. Since people hated municipal organization, Mr. Oliver argued that the control of schools by the municipal bodies was out of the question. These reasons led him to support taxation by an elected body separate from other elected bodies.

Public taxation would force non-residents who owned property to support the school. This was a very conclusive argument to the future ratepayers who visualized the Hudson's Bay Company with its large holdings around the settlement of Edmonton. Lastly, Mr. Oliver claimed that a good school would enhance the value of the community. The latter assertion was probably made not because of any theoretical values but with the understanding that a good school would encourage settlement, and settlement might help to bring in the railway which was already approaching Calgary.¹

The voting apparently took place somewhere between December 20 and December 27, for the editorial in the Bulletin on the latter day congratulates the people of Edmonton on the stand taken. The article states that a decision other than the one made would have been in favor of the speculators. By the latter term Mr. Oliver doubtlessly meant the Hudson's Bay Company but did not wish to express himself too openly; for in spite of the surrender of its charter in 1869, the Company was still a name to conjure with. There is also some comment on the co-operation of Protestants and Roman Catholics. The editorial goes further to draw a contrast between the broadmindedness of the west in religious matters as compared to the sectarian narrowness of the east. It cites as an instance the North-West School Ordinance which guarded scrupulously the rights of the minority no matter to what church the minority belonged. In view of his later utterances one might wonder whether Mr. Oliver ever read any of his former speeches or editorials. It is probable that the expressions were always sincere, but that those cited above owed their origin to a somewhat heady benevolence following upon the school victory in Edmonton.

1. Edmonton Bulletin, December 20, 1884.

In proceeding with the narrative itself as told in the Bulletin we must be careful not to accept everything as being the absolute truth, for in the excitement of battle there were charges and countercharges which were not meant to be proved but to bring victory in the battle itself.

This is the story as told in the Bulletin:

"The voting on the organization of Edmonton School District took place according to announcement on Saturday last. The contest was a hot one, no effort being spared by either side to bring victory. To see that order was preserved Sgt. Geidert, of the police, had been requested to attend by Mr. McDougall of the H.B.C., and two special constables, Messrs. J. Conner and L. Gurneau, were sworn in besides. Before nine o'clock teams were on the street to bring up voters. At the hour appointed the returning officer, Mr. McCauley, opened the poll book and proceeded to record the vote cast... ..The first batch of votes were polled by the antis, but these were soon balanced by the arrival of a sleighload of those favouring the scheme, and from that time forward until three o'clock neither party gained much on the other. During the forenoon Mr. Watson was replaced as scrutineer by Dr. Wilson. At noon the vote stood 37 for to 34 against....a detachment of Hudson's Bay Company employees who were not generally known to have votes arrived on the scene and put the anti-school party five or six votes ahead. The men voted as tenants of rooms in the H. B. buildings. To this attack the school party replied by bringing up the boarders of the Edmonton Hotel and Jasper Rooms who also voted on the rooms occupied by them, both parties swallowing the cast iron oath like men. At four o'clock the poll was declared closed just as an anti-school voter arrived on the scene.....The returning officer and scrutineers counted up the votes and announced as a result 54 for and 43 against the organization of the school districts.... A great deal more of the effects of liquor were apparent during the day than might reasonably be expected in a country under a prohibitory liquor law.....Contrary to expectation no objection was made to the method of conducting the voting or to the legality of votes cast. Mr. Watson declared that although he considered several of the votes cast for the school to be illegal, if these were struck off the school would still have a majority..."¹

The opposition did not stop with the voting in Edmonton. Soon afterwards Dr. Wilson, the leader of the malcontents, announced his intention to run for election. Encouraged by the resolute resistance of the opponents to an established school system in Edmonton, the disaffection spread to other districts.² Though the opposition finally died down the

1. Edmonton Bulletin, December 27, 1884. It has been considered advisable to give the original report of the elections in the Bulletin than others which have been given from time to time. It is more restrained and probably to be relied on more than succeeding ones. This report acknowledges that both sides did not adhere strictly to the law.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, January 3, 1885.

irritation did not cease, but manifested itself in the defeat of the sitting member, Mr. Oliver, who was not returned at the next election.

In spite of the excitement the people finally bowed to the inevitable, and, after a momentary recession, organization went on rapidly, as we have already learned from the report of the Lieutenant-Governor. Within the year eleven schools were organized in Alberta of which the majority were still in the north though the railway had been built through the south. Though the opposition delayed the establishment of a school in Edmonton so that it was the seventh to be organized in the North-West Territories, it was in fact the first to be so organized in the present province of Alberta. Calgary followed. Victoria, where the first mission school had been established by the McDougalls, was not legally established until the next year. From then on until 1892 the majority of school districts were set up in the southern area of the province along with the first railway. It is only in that year that there came a revival of organizing activity along the new railway which was being built from Calgary to Strathcona. About half as many schools were built in 1892 as in all the years previous to this. In the history of the province the setting up of new districts became a mere detail henceforth and not a matter for general comment as had been the case hitherto. The Bulletin mentions their organization less and less frequently.

In the meantime let us turn back to the legislative and official history of our schools. The imported Quebec system was doomed to failure from the beginning. In the first place, the organization could not be proceeded with as arrangements had not all been concluded with the Dominion Government. Though a handsome subsidy had been voted by the Dominion

Government, no authority had been granted to spend the money thus voted.¹ In addition to this a large number of the provisions of the bill had been found impracticable; the Lieutenant-Governor therefore decided to wait until the Council had been assembled so that the act might be amended. The Council felt its position keenly and protested against the dilatory procedure with Territorial business adopted by the Dominion Government. In the Address in Reply to the Lieutenant-Governor's speech, the members condemned the restrictions which had been placed on the money granted, preventing the Council from spending it on the organization of schools. It also took this opportunity of berating the Government for granting various companies odd-numbered sections which led to dispersal of settlement and thus made organization more difficult.

Nevertheless the minds of the members had not changed with respect to the existence of the Board of Education, for we find them discussing in committee the advisability of nominating one immediately. On the question of its appointment the Council was unanimous but there was a difference in opinion as to the number. This question was bound up with that of expenditure. Finally it was agreed that two members should be appointed in each section while the Lieutenant-Governor was to sit as chairman of the body. Falling in with the desire of the Council, the Lieutenant-Governor finally appointed the members of the Board.² There was, however, still some difference of opinion as to the powers of this body. In the early period of the

1. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, November 5, 1885.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, December 8, 15, 16, 1885.

Council's existence Mr. Rouleau appeared as the champion of Separate School rights and we find the records teeming with suggestions from that gentleman to the end that the privileges of his church might be guaranteed in both law and custom. The first members of the Catholic section were Mr. Rouleau and Father Lacombe. In the Protestant section were the Messrs. Secord and Marshallsay. The secretary was John Brown. The name Secord is seen very often in the educational records of this period but Mr. Secord's influence was even greater than can be gathered from a study of the documents. From one contemporary, at least, there comes a recognition of his services. It seems that the Lieutenant-Governor, whatever his other abilities were, was not a close student of educational systems. As a result he depended to a large extent on the suggestions of Mr. John Secord. For his work he was well fitted as a lawyer; and very conveniently he resided at Regina where he could be reached easily in case of need.¹

The act passed in 1885 began as a series of amendments to the School Ordinance of 1884. So great were the changes proposed that it was decided to revamp the whole act with the result that it became "an Ordinance to amend and consolidate as amended the School Ordinance of 1884". Not only were there weaknesses in the old act, but the increase in the number of school areas made simplification necessary. In the first act sections dealing with one topic were distributed throughout the document. In the new act some attempt was made to bring these sections under one heading. Furthermore changes were made in the authority to be wielded by the Board

1. In my conversation with Dr. Baird I mentioned the activity of the Lieutenant-Governor in educational matters. He assured me that the activity was chiefly due to the work of Mr. Secord.

of Education both as a body and in sections. In the first act the majority of powers had been conferred on that body sitting in sections. These powers included the examination of teachers, the selection of books, and the appointment of inspectors. The second act left to the sections power only to cancel the certificate of a teacher upon sufficient cause and to control text-books. In these changes we note a definite tendency towards a state control. Nevertheless the act as a whole showed a greater understanding of school administration. Duties of trustees, teachers, and other officials are clearly defined. In spite of these changes the act was not larger than it had been before. Apparently the aims of the changes had been a gradual elimination of religious control and a greater simplification of content.¹

1. The School Ordinance, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1885, No. 4

CHAPTER IV

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The period, 1835 to 1892, was marked by experimentation in government. The Dominion Government was perennially at a loss to know how provision could be made in the administration of the North-West Territories for the rapid development that was taking place. This apparent difficulty is also evident in the legislative attempts of the North-West Council and later of the Assembly when it came to deal with such matters as the rapidly extending school system. Western public opinion in so far as it was expressed in the utterances of the members of the Council and the Assembly was demanding greater rights for the legislative body. The members showed impatience at any evidence of Dominion control. They sought to lessen the powers of the Lieutenant-Governor, and demanded greater initiative in legislating for the educational needs of the people.

The Struggle for Responsible Government

For three years the Lieutenant-Governor governed almost alone. There was no cabinet, and the Council met only occasionally. In his farewell speech to the Legislative Assembly in 1893, the Lieutenant-Governor described his position as follows:

"I was responsible to the Privy Council alone for all executive acts done in the territories.....the Lieutenant-Governor was practically a Political Commissioner under whose direct supervision and authority the affairs of the territories were conducted and administered....."¹

When elected members were added to the North-West Council in 1884, they expressed resentment against the dictatorial powers of the Lieutenant-Governor. In reply to the Speech from the Throne in 1885,² after a

1. Oliver, A.E., "The Canadian North-West, Vol. 2", Ottawa, Ontario: Publications of the Canadian Archives, No. 9, Ottawa Printing Bureau, 1914, p. 1153.

2. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, December 7, 1885.

prolonged and exciting discussion, the following amendment was inserted to the resolution:

"While congratulating ourselves and the country on the increased representation afforded, we cannot omit to point out to your Honor the still greater rights to representation which we feel we are entitled to, but have not yet received.....we confidently look forward to the next session of Parliament granting our requests and calling to their councils representatives of these territories."

In the same year, a lengthy memorial¹ was presented to the Dominion Government by the North-West Council detailing twenty-seven grievances and requests. Though the Dominion Government could not agree to grant all of these requests, some concessions were made which pacified the westerners for a time. Four Federal Electoral districts were formed, and two Senators provided for the North-West Territories. The powers of the council were extended to make Ordinances for direct taxation for territorial and municipal purposes. During the session of 1886, in the Speech from the Throne, the Lieutenant-Governor stated that the Dominion Government would welcome suggestions in working out a scheme for a local legislature. As a result, a special committee² of the members of the Council was appointed. In 1887, this body recommended that the North-West Council be abolished and that a Legislative Assembly of 25 elected members be established. It recommended further that the Lieutenant-Governor should carry on his functions by and with the advice of an Executive Council of three members appointed from this Assembly.³ In 1888 the Dominion

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1. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, December 15, 1885.
 2. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, October 22, 1886.
 3. Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, November 19, 1887.

Parliament abolished the Council, creating a Legislative Assembly of 25 members, 22 of whom were to be elected, and three others chosen from the territorial judiciary as legal experts without the power of a vote. Provision was also made for an Advisory Council of four members, who, with the Lieutenant-Governor, would constitute an Executive Committee in all matters of finance. This change coincided with the appointment of a new Governor in the person of the Honorable Joseph Royal.

The struggle for legislative and financial control was resumed in the session of 1883. The Assembly found itself continually hampered by the limitations placed on its law-making powers by the Dominion Government. An excellent illustration is in the field of territorial expenditure. The provisions of the North-West Territories Act as regards finance were as follows:

"The Lieutenant-Governor shall select from among the elected members of the Legislative Assembly four persons to act as an Advisory Council on matters of finance.....and the Lieutenant-Governor shall preside at all sittings of which an Advisory Council and have a right to vote as a member thereof, and shall also have a casting vote in the case of a tie."¹

The first Advisory Council, headed by the Honorable F. G. Haultain, resigned as a body declaring they could not serve in the anomalous position of having responsibility without authority. The immediate question at issue was that of school grants. The Lieutenant-Governor took it upon himself to make grant reductions in the face of Council opposition. Dr. Brett was appointed to head a new Advisory Council on the understanding that the Lieutenant-Governor would continue to control the expenditure of the grants

1. The North-West Territories Act, Statutes of Canada, 1883, C.19.

from the Dominion Government. Dr. Brett's statement to the Assembly reads as follows:

"The Council of His Honor's advisors, formed under the law, will exercise the functions of an executive in matters affecting the territorial finances only, as well as in the discharge of the duties assigned by the ordinances to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council."¹

The contest became exceedingly bitter. The assembly refused to allow the Advisory Council to serve on committees and in the session of 1890 refused to go into a committee of supply. Though some concessions were made to pacify the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly by the new act of 1891, the constitutional issue did not disappear until the departure of the Honorable Joseph Royal. Such was the atmosphere in which our present school system was developed.

The Board of Education

Prior to 1888, there is little recorded criticism of the Board of Education. During the period of contention just described, however, the Board found itself drawn more and more into the limelight. Criticism came from various sources. To the assembly it appeared a tool in the hands of the Crown, and hence an obstacle to the development of responsible government. To the public, exercised over the Manitoba Separate School Question, the Board seemed an instrument serving mainly the interests of the Catholic minority. The secrecy of its meetings aroused the suspicions of the press.²

1. Journals of the Assembly of the North-West Territories 1889, November 5.

2. The Edmonton Bulletin, August 29, 1892.

When Mr. H. S. Cayley of Calgary succeeded Mr. F. W. G. Haultain to the office of Premier in 1886, it was even charged that the appointment was a reward for his opposition to the latter's attempt to establish national schools.¹ Finally, in 1892, the Board of Education, after many attempts had been made to modify it, was superseded by another body known as the Council of Public Instruction.

In the School Ordinance of 1887 we find the following clause clarifying the division of powers between the constituent Protestant and Catholic sections of the Board of Education:

"Each section of the Board shall have the selection of text-books for the examination of teachers in history and science and it shall have the power to prescribe any additional subjects of examinations for the teachers of the schools of its section, and in all examinations on such subjects the examiners of each section shall have exclusive jurisdiction".²

Owing to the increase in the number of schools the constitution of the Board of Education was changed in the final session of the North-West Council in 1887 to five Protestant and three Roman Catholic members, and the Board appointed one of its members to be chairman.³

In spite of small changes in the Ordinance of 1887 experience proved that further amendments were necessary in the School Ordinance of 1885 to make it workable. In several districts difficulties had arisen which required the reference of disputed clauses for legal advice. It was discovered that some sections were even inoperative, since they conflicted with the provisions of the North-West Territories Act. Accordingly, a new Ordinance was prepared to consolidate and amend the Ordinance of 1885,⁴

1. The Edmonton Bulletin, November 24, 1892.

2. Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1887, No. 2.

3. Report of the Board of Education, 1887.

4. Ibid.,

and submitted to the newly constituted Legislative Assembly in 1888.

However, it was becoming increasingly evident that mere clarification of the clauses in the School Ordinance was not the sole purpose of the members of the Council, and later the Legislative Assembly. In spite of very thorough study and of the resulting changes in the School Ordinance of 1888, the Separate School question and the Board of Education became very important items in the discussions of the members of the Assembly in the next year. The strife in Manitoba seems to have affected the inhabitants closest to the boundary, for we find no mention of any strife in the west in the columns of the Bulletin. As late as September 14, 1889, Frank Oliver, the member for Edmonton, congratulated the people of the West on the far-sighted intellectual honesty of their leaders. He declared in the following observation, that the desire of the westerners was to avoid tyranny:

"While it is the undoubted right of the majority to rule it is only right to consult the feeling of the minority to some extent."

On Wednesday, October 30, 1889, Mr. J. F. Betts¹ moved the second reading of a bill to amend the School Ordinance, 1888. He declared that his only desire was to save money, as each member of the Board was paid \$500 per annum. For this reason he proposed a reduction of the number of members in the Board of Education, and the abolition of the sections of the Board. In addition he proposed that all schools should be merely public or or separate,² and that the power to form separate schools be vested in the Lieutenant-Governor. Furthermore he desired to make it lawful for the members of the Board of Education or any Justice of the Peace to inspect

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1. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, October 30th, 1889. (A collection of newspaper reports of Legislative activity to be found in the Legislative Library, Government Buildings, Regina).
 2. The purpose of the proposal would have been to allow separate schools but to abolish denominational control.

the books of any school district. The bill was defeated through the opposition of the leader of the Advisory Council which had resigned the day before. Mr. Haultain objected that it was too late in the session to discuss such fundamental changes, especially as the school ordinance had been amended so recently. Five days later Mr. J. F. Betts was one of the four members to be appointed to the new Advisory Council with Dr. R. G. Brett of Rod Deer as his leader. We cannot determine whether the defeat of his proposal had any effect in helping him to make up his mind on the invitation of the Lieutenant-Governor.

✓ The opponents of denominational control did not give up the struggle. The Dominion Government had informed the Lieutenant-Governor that changes were being considered in the North-West Territories Act and asked for suggestions from the Council of the North-West Territories. Having been defeated in the attempt to transform the Board of Education, some of the members conceived the idea of attacking at the root of the evil-- the special privileges given to denominational schools under the Dominion act. Accordingly, Mr. B. P. Richardson seconded by Dr. R. G. Brett, moved that a "humble" address be presented to the Dominion parliament asking that the North-West Territories Act be amended by repealing all of subsection 1 of section 14 after the word "education" in the second line.¹ He declared that his purpose was to indicate the feeling of the Assembly before any amendments would be considered in the Dominion parliament. The sub-section read as follows:

1. Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, October 29, 1889.

"The Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall pass all necessary ordinances in respect to education; but it shall therein always be provided that a majority of the ratepayers of any district.....may establish such schools therein as they think fit.....and also that the minority of ratepayers therein whether Protestant or Roman Catholic may establish separate schools therein--and in such case the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate schools shall be liable only to assessment of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof".¹

The deletion of all words after the word "education" would have made the Territorial Assembly supreme in education; separate schools would have depended on the will of the Territorial Assembly.

Mr. Justice Rouleau, the doughty defender of Separate Schools, had been appointed one of the legal experts in the new Assembly. Though he had no vote he exercised his right to discuss questions very freely. He declared that he was opposed to the resolution as it did not consider protection of the minority. In his opinion the resolution should not be passed unless some extraordinary state of affairs could be proved to the House. He was satisfied that the present system was working remarkably well since there never had been any friction. He declared that the House wanted to augment the power of the majority, and that this power would likely be abused.

This latter observation brought the member from Edmonton to his feet. He declared that there was no intention to legislate against separate schools, but, only to give to the Assembly the right to legislate as it saw fit. He believed in giving privileges to the minority, but he insisted that those privileges should not be to the injury of the majority.

The other members also hastened to chide Mr. Rouleau on his attitude. R. G. Brett hoped that Justice Rouleau had sufficient confidence in the present and future members of the Assembly to believe that their power would

1. The North-West Territories Act, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1886, Ch. 50.

not be abused. Mr. Betts regretted to hear Mr. Justice Rouleau sneak on this question. He declared that Mr. Justice Rouleau had always advanced arguments which were distasteful to him (Mr. Betts). He said that Justice Rouleau was there as an interpreter of the law and it was a matter of regret that he should advance the claim to be the representative in the Assembly of any section of the people.

On November 6, minor changes in the School Ordinance were again considered and Mr. Betts again attempted to introduce an amendment giving the power to appoint school inspectors to the Lieutenant-Governor. Again his proposal was criticized by the unabashed judge and voted down by the majority of the Assembly. Mr. Betts was one of the new Advisory Council, and the majority of the Assembly simply resorted to the expedient of rejecting any proposal of this Council whether the proposal had any merit or not. The same fate awaited Mr. Richardson's address when he moved it again next year.¹

Inspectors

When the Board of Education met in Regina on March 11, 1886, its first duty was the appointment of Inspectors. The direct influence of the churches is evident from the appointment of clergymen to these positions. Four inspectors were appointed to the area now known as Alberta. In Edmonton Rev. A. B. Baird served as school inspector for the Protestant Schools. There is no record of his report to the Board of Education but the columns of the Bulletin contain evidence of his work. We discover that on March 14, 1885, Mr. Baird had given the newspaper a report on Writing in the Edmonton school. His inspectorship was not the only official position which he held under the Board of Education, as he also served on the Board of Examiners.

1. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, October 30, 1890.

Many others could be mentioned, but his name evokes the most interest as he is the only individual still alive of those whose names can be found in the oldest official reports. The salary of an inspector varied from \$25 to \$500 a year in addition to travelling expenses. On October 11, 1886, it was resolved to fix the travelling expenses at five dollars per day. At the session of the Legislative Council in 1888 the regular salary of an inspector was fixed at \$20 per school and \$5 per day for travelling expenses.¹ Clergymen were not appointed altogether because of the influence of the churches. The appointments were also a matter of convenience. While the eastern side of the Territories was becoming thickly settled and could almost support a permanent inspector, the north and west had very few schools. There was no question of any special training for the vocation. The most capable men for such casual employment were clergymen who lived close by and could be trusted to give an honest appraisal of work accomplished. The appointments were made annually very much as school auditors were appointed in later years. With the abolition of the Board of Education the appointment of clergymen ceased, but for many years no special training was demanded. Morally and intellectually these appointments were probably of a higher level than those which immediately succeeded them.

Qualifications of Teachers

The most pressing problem in this period was the obtaining of teachers in sufficiently large numbers. For that reason a certificate to teach was made as accessible as possible. To take advantage of any available teacher in the Territories and to encourage others who might wish to come to the west, the Board of Education recognized any certificate obtained

1. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, October 31, 1888, and December 11, 1888.

from a Normal School. Provision was also made to enable teachers to obtain higher certificates. A second class teacher could obtain a first class certificate by producing an inspector's report with the grading "excellent". A third class teacher could likewise obtain a second class certificate by producing a report with the grading "Good". Any graduate of any University, British or Canadian, could obtain a third class certificate by producing evidence of his degree.

Experience convinced the Board that the above provisions were too lax. Accordingly the regulations with reference to the granting of certificates came under review in June, 1887, and the following changes were made:

"Third Class Certificate":

A candidate on passing the required examination for a Third Class Certificate will be granted a Third Class Non-professional Certificate, valid for one year.

On production of such certificate at the expiration of that time, endorsed by the School Inspector, the candidate will, subject to the approval of this Section of the Board, receive a Third Class Professional Certificate, under which he must teach for at least two years.

"Second Class Certificate":

On production of a Third Class Professional Certificate with two endorsements by the Inspector of Schools, and passing the required examination for a Second Class Certificate, a candidate will, subject to the approval of this Section of the Board, be granted a Second Class Non-Professional Certificate, valid for one year.

On production of such certificate, at the expiration of that time, endorsed by the School Inspector, the candidate will, subject to the approval of this Section of the Board, receive a Second Class Professional Certificate, under which he must teach for at least one year.

"First Class Certificate":

On production of a Second Class Professional Certificate endorsed by the School Inspector and passing the required examination for a First Class Certificate, a candidate will, subject to the approval of this Section of the Board, receive a first class Professional Certificate, valid during good behaviour.

"Provisional Certificates":

Provisional Certificates will be granted to teachers, not holding Normal School or any class of certificate, on their sending the following information to the Inspector of Schools for the District in which they desire to teach viz:

1. A recommendation from the Board of Trustees of the School District.
2. Evidence of good moral character.
3. Satisfactory evidence as to competency.
4. An application for the certificate in the applicant's own handwriting.

Provisional Certificates shall only remain in force for one year from the date of issue, but shall lapse sooner if the holder shall fail to pass the examination for a Third Class Certificate held during the year."¹

As the number of teachers increased the qualifications necessary for teaching certificates were raised still more. All applicants except graduates of Universities in the British Empire were compelled to write Territorial examinations in 1890. Over all examinations there was appointed annually a Board of Examiners consisting of two appointees from each section of the Board of Education. This Board also had control over examinations which qualified for entrance to the Union schools, which were provided in the larger centres in order to meet the demand for a higher education.² The entrance examinations which qualified a student for admission to high school continued in existence until recently when changes in the curriculum brought a change in the organization of the schools. All examinations were apparently held annually as we find one of the early inspectors in Edmonton, Father J. Lestano, criticizing the period during which they were held.³ In his opinion July and August did not give the pupils sufficient time for study; he recommended winter as a more suitable period. Apparently his recommendation was not

1. Report of the Board of Education, 1887.

2. Vide "Secondary Education" in this chapter.

3. Report of the Board of Education, 1886.

implemented. According to the Report of the Board of Education for 1890 five examinations had already been held and 126 persons had applied for permission to write the Teachers' Examinations for that year. The stiffening of regulations against outsiders was an attempt to protect those who were being educated in the Territories.

In spite of the attempts of the Board to raise the qualifications of the teachers, the reports of the inspectors show that there were many weaknesses. As a result of their demands for increased training and improved academic qualifications, the Board of Education decided in 1890 to make Normal training compulsory in the eastern area bordering on Manitoba. They also recommended the appointment of a Normal School Principal who would hold sessions in various parts of the country. Faculties of several universities were likewise requested to make arrangements for holding examinations at the most important centres in the Territories.

School Grants

This was also a period of experimentation in the aid given to schools through grants. In the School Ordinance of 1885, grants were given to schools on the following basis:

(1) on teacher's qualifications:

- (a) \$250 annually to each school employing a teacher with a third class or a provisional certificate.
- (b) \$300 annually to each school employing a teacher with a second class certificate.
- (c) \$350 annually to each school in which a teacher with a first class teacher's certificate was employed.

(2) on attendance:

- (a) \$2 per child per annum to every school which had an average of at least eight pupils, for every child who attended school 100 days, where school was kept open for one term.

- (b) \$2.50 per child per annum to every school having an average attendance of at least eight pupils, for every child who attended 160 days where the school was kept open during winter and summer terms.

(3) On the Inspector's reports of the school; an annual grant not exceeding the total amount of the capitation grant for attendance, if the Inspector reported favorably on the work of the school,

(4) for additional teachers:

- (a) to every school district where the average daily attendance exceeded forty, a sum of \$150 for an assistant teacher,
- (b) to every school district where more than one assistant teacher was employed and where the average daily attendance was at least twenty pupils for each teacher, a grant of \$100 for every assistant after the first,

(5) for advanced classes:

to every district employing a teacher holding a first class certificate a grant was given to one group of pupils examined in the same subjects, not being more than two subjects, at the rate of one dollar per child, per subject.¹

By the Ordinance of 1888 a definite percentage of the teacher's

salary was assured to each school district, the grants being distributed on the following basis:

- (1) to every school having a daily average attendance of not less than six pupils there was granted 75 percent. of the teacher's salary if the teacher held a first class certificate; 70 percent. of the salary if the teacher held a second class certificate; and 65 percent of the salary if the teacher held a third class certificate,

(2) grants for regularity of attendance,

In school districts where the number of children of school age did not exceed twenty-five, a grant was paid which varied from sixty dollars to thirty-five dollars, according as the average daily attendance varied from 75 percent. of the number of pupils on the roll.

- (3) grants for additional teachers, where the average daily attendance was at least twenty for each teacher employed, were distributed on the same basis as stated in section one.

1. School Ordinance of 1885, Section 85, "Aid to Schools".

Secondary Education

Secondary education grew out of a desire to train teachers for the rapidly increasing number of schools. On July 28, 1886, the Board of Education of the Territories met with the Honorable Thomas White, Minister of the Interior, and proposed that a High School, with a Training School for teachers attached, should be erected at Regina. The Minister promised to give attention to the matter on his return to Ottawa.¹

In the same year Inspector Thomas Grover of the Western Assiniboia Protestant Schools reported on the necessity for such a provision. His report to the Board of Education on this matter was as follows:

"There are many teachers now holding provisional certificates, who intended to follow the profession of teaching, and who would like to attend a Training and High School to fit themselves for their profession, provided they could do so without incurring the additional expense of leaving the Territories."²

During the year 1887, the following resolution was forwarded to the Minister of the Interior:

"That this Board desires to urge upon the Federal Government the desirability of a grant of \$30,000 being made to the North-West Territories for the purpose of establishing one or more High Schools and a Central Training School."

The resolution further explained that the existing grant was barely enough for the "common schools" so that no provision could be made for the high schools out of ordinary expenditure. Apparently a similar resolution had already come from the North-West Council, for the Deputy Minister replied that the two resolutions would be considered simultaneously.

1. Report of the Board of Education, 1886.

2. Ibid.

There is no evidence that the Dominion Government authorized any special grant for this purpose but in the next year a share of the income from grazing leases was made available for educational purposes. On September 13, 1888, the Board of Education recommended that clauses be added to the Ordinance authorizing the establishment of High Schools.¹ These changes were made in the School Ordinance in the very thorough revision and consolidation of all the ordinances which took place in that year as the result of the inauguration of the Assembly which had replaced the Council in this year.

The Board of Education had a very busy time at its meeting of March 14, 1889.² The new schools, known as Union Schools, provided a Secondary Education and were required to make provision for the training of teachers wherever there was a demand. Regulations were drawn up with reference to Entrance Examinations and Courses of Study. The Board recognized that such regulations could only be tentative but that they were necessary to "expedite operation as early as possible". With regard to Normal School training the Board relied on the discretion of the Principal and the Inspector who visited such a school. That these regulations were too lax is evident from the order issued in 1890, that no time be spent on Normal School training without a special authorization from the Board of Education. This came in response to criticism of the amount of time spent by principals of Union Schools with these classes, to the consequent neglect of the ordinary school subjects.

1. Report of the Board of Education, 1888.

2. Report of the Board of Education, 1888-1889.

The Head Teacher of the High School branch of a Union School was required to be a graduate of some University in the British Empire, or to have attainments which, in the opinion of the Board of Education, were equivalent thereto; and he was required to satisfy the Board as to his knowledge and ability to conduct such a school and to train teachers. The Board also saw fit to set a maximum salary of \$1,800, as the ordinance of 1888 assured each district of a grant equivalent to 75 percent of the teacher's salary.

It was compulsory for every Union School to have a Normal School Department which should hold one session in each year if required to do so by the Board of Education. Every such session opened on the first Monday in November and closed on the last Friday of the following March. Each Union School was also to have a library of which the books were prescribed by the Board of Education. Examinations on the subjects of study and on practice teaching were to be set by the Principal of each school in collaboration with the inspector of the schools of the district. For the continuation of secondary work Standard VI was to be added. On the whole, the program of studies for the Union Schools does not indicate that there was any definite break in subjects of study between the elementary and the high school. The more advanced courses were on the whole, attempts to remedy weaknesses that remained as the result of defective teaching in the elementary schools.

In 1890 there were Union Schools already established at Edmonton, Calgary, Medicine Hat, and Lacombe, in the present province of Alberta. In Saskatchewan, Moosomin and Regina were the two centres. However, one should not make the mistake of thinking that Normal School training was given

at all these schools. Not only was Normal School training not given, but ordinary secondary school subjects must have been taught fitfully; for various reports mention Union Schools as in the process of organization where they had been reported as already in existence the year before.¹ This confusion forced the Board to forbid the teaching of Normal School subjects without special permission. The only record that we have of any work done in this connection is that of Mr. A. H. Smith, B.A. at Moosomin. In 1891 this training was offered in Moosomin and Regina but no students applied for the latter place, with the result that Moosomin remained the only centre of training. The Board also ordered that these schools were to be taught by Inspectors for the district. At no time was the work very successful. The schools in the other inspectorates in the Territories were few and widely scattered so that there was no question of extending these advantages beyond the two areas already mentioned.

As far back as January 1886, the Board had submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor the following proposition:

"That the Board feels that the appointment of a Normal School Principal, whose duty it would be to hold Normal Sessions in different parts of the country, would have the best possible results in increasing the efficiency of teachers and in stimulating education".

They concluded their resolution with this petition:

"That His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor be requested to urge upon the Dominion Government the advisability of granting the sum of five thousand dollars for the next financial year for Normal School purposes".²

When ordinary methods failed to make any marked progress in teacher training, many of the members of the Advisory Council returned to the idea first proposed by the Board of Education. Accordingly in 1892 a

1. Report of the Board of Education 1890-91.

2. Report of the Board of Education 1889-90.

Superintendent of Education was appointed with the additional duty of Director of Normal Schools. Only then was Normal School training put on a permanent basis.

Inspectors' Reports

The inspectors' reports are given in some detail.¹ During the earlier part of this period the most professionally able reports came from Inspector Thomas Grover whose duties covered the south eastern portion of the present province of Saskatchewan. In his first report, 1886, he complained about the type of teaching and urged the consideration of a training school. In the same year there were also two reports from Alberta inspectors, both of Roman Catholic schools. From the north Father Lestanc notified the Board of Education that not all the schools had been operated during the year. In his opinion, too, the qualifications demanded of primary teachers were too high. The latter observation was probably influenced by the number of schools which had failed to obtain teachers. J. W. Costello gave a report of the work in Lacombe Separate School.

In the intervening years between 1886 and 1890 none of the inspectors' reports have anything of interest. Perusal of the reports given in 1890 reveals that there was another able inspector by the name of Rothwell in Western Assiniboia. He recommended more advanced non-professional training. To him the greatest weakness was the habit prevalent among school boards of hiring untrained teachers for the youngest children. He recommended that the Normal School courses last for ten weeks only, but that there be a written examination at the end of that period. He also recommended that there should be an opportunity during the Normal School term

1. Reports of the Board of Education, 1886-1891.

for practical teaching before approved judges. In addition he submitted a comprehensive plan for future grants to school districts.¹

Conclusion

✓ This completes a general picture of this period. It is a period of pioneering and experimentation with many failures which resulted in criticism of the governing authorities. The whole history of legislation shows that the majority of members were inclined to blame religious interference for the failures. Year after year amendments were made to decrease denominational control. By 1891 the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council had assumed the right to license teachers and to appoint inspectors in the Territories. The Catholic bishops were of the opinion that these were underhand devices to nullify the privileges of their flock. Their demand for the appointment of a Catholic inspector was granted, but he was kept occupied in his office at Regina so that he could not visit any schools.² After preparatory attacks had been made on the powers of the Board of Education it was natural that the citadel of denominational control itself should be attacked. Both sides became increasingly bitter in the debates, and the constitution struggle merely prolonged the life of the Board as the attention of the members was drawn elsewhere. Finally, in 1891, one of the members, Mr. Mowat moved a bill to abolish the Board. Though consideration of the bill was postponed, the support which it evoked made the abolition of the Board only a question of time.

1. Reports of the Board of Education 1886-1891.

2. Morrice, A.G., Rev. "History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada", Toronto, Ontario: Musson Book Company, 1910.

CHAPTER V

ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE CONTROL - THE COUNCIL OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The period of years between 1888 and 1893 was marked, as has been mentioned before, by a struggle for responsible government in the Territories. The Legislative Assembly was pressing for full control of all money whether raised by taxation or granted by the Dominion Government. As the Lieutenant-Governor and the Dominion Government would not concede this, the Advisory Council resigned, forcing the Lieutenant-Governor to appoint a Council which had not the confidence of the majority of the members. The time of the Legislature was taken up chiefly with resolutions and memorials to the Dominion Government, in which the Assembly claimed control of the expenditure of funds and full independence in legislation. With respect to education such a plea was made when the Territorial Assembly petitioned the Dominion Government to amend "The North West Territories Act" by repealing sub-section 1 of section 14 after the word "education" in the second line.¹

The School Ordinance, 1892.

Late in the session of 1892 Mr. Daniel Mowat from Battleford moved the second reading of his bill to amend the Ordinance of 1888. The most important proposal of his bill was the section abolishing the Board of Education and substituting for it a council of Public Instruction to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor from the members of the Executive Committee. In his speech he did not attach any blame to the Board of Education; indeed he recognized the place of the Board in the history of educational

1. Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, October 29, 1889. Also vide above Mr. B. P. Richardson's motion.

development. The organization of the Board had been a temporary measure at a time when educationalists were scarce and clergymen and lawyers had to be entrusted with leadership. Abolition of the Board, Mr. Mowat declared, would save the public twelve hundred dollars a year while bringing the control of education directly under the representatives of the people and would rectify salary abuses. Some teachers were getting higher salaries than seemed reasonable to some of the members. Already, in the case of Union Schools, the regulations had forbidden the payment of more than eighteen hundred dollars per year to any teacher.

Though the economic reasons for his act must have seemed very weak he proceeded further to annihilate the force of his argument by proposing to appoint a superintendent of Education; to aid the Superintendent two examiners were to be appointed to examine and certificate teachers. Mr. Prince, a French member, was quick to seize upon this weakness when the bill was re-introduced in the next session.

Another far-reaching proposal dealt with the inspection of schools. There were to be appointed four inspectors with salaries not exceeding eighteen hundred dollars. They were not to be allocated to any schools but were to be sent where necessary. This section was meant to abolish the practice of appointing part-time inspectors chiefly from the clergy. It must be remembered that there was no provision for religious sections.¹ in the new Council, so that the same inspectors visited both Catholic and Protestant Schools. To make certain that no clergyman could be appointed in the future, Mr. Mowat proposed another section (when this bill came up again a year later) to bar any clergyman from taking any position whatever

1. Vide Board of Education, Chapter III.

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in the school system.¹

There had been some difficulty in paying the schools the full grants to which they were entitled. The Lieutenant-Governor had met this difficulty by deducting a certain percentage of these grants. The standing Committee on Education had protested to the Lieutenant-Governor and asked that payments be made to all schools in accordance with the said Ordinance with as little delay as possible.² Mr. Mowat recognized the financial difficulties of the Government and proposed to deal with it in a manner hallowed by tradition and very popular in periods of excitement, that is, by encouraging the payment of lower salaries to teachers. Grants were to be changed in the following manner: Seventy per cent of the teacher's salary was still to be paid provided that such salary for a third class teacher did not exceed three hundred and sixty dollars. Twenty-five dollars, in addition, were to be allowed a second class teacher, and fifty dollars to one holding a first class certificate. There was also to be an extra grant based upon attendance and achievement of the pupils.

This bill had been prepared in committee and Mr. Mowat had merely introduced it into the house with the authority of that body. Most of the sections had been copied from the act in force in British Columbia at this time. In addition, he added two other proposals which he thought should be discussed, though these did not have the sanction of the committee. The first was that all teaching be in English. The other clause was the one which has had a long history in taxation, namely that all landowners be compelled to pay a tax for the support of schools. The mover explained that he was a sincere

1. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, August 15, 1892.

2. Ibid., December 16, 1891.

admirer of the single tax system, and that a tax on land came remarkably close to the requirements for such a tax. This clause was criticized on the ground that it would hinder settlement, but was finally passed when the word "personal" was added to "real" property.

As was to be expected the bill caused a good deal of discussion.

The opponents first locked horns over the question of minority representation in the Council of Public Instruction. A suggestion by Dr. Brett was finally accepted since it symbolized a partial surrender of both sides. His amendment allowed the appointment of an Advisory Board of four members, two Catholic and two Protestant, in addition to the ordinary members of the Executive. The Board was to sit in on the meetings to advise on educational matters, but its members were not given a vote.

The next clause to cause dissension was the one ordering that all schools were to be taught in English. Mr. Antonio Prince, a member from Alberta representing the French-speaking colonies to the north of Edmonton, had succeeded Mr. Justice Rouleau as the defender of separate school privileges and the French language. Mr. Prince believed the children should be taught their native tongue before beginning English. Mr. Oliver took this occasion to tell the members how difficult it had been to compel the teaching of English in the separate school at Edmonton. A course in French was finally made permissible.

During the discussion over this act a point was raised as to who could be assessed for a separate school. It was Mr. Mowat's desire to allow only the assessment of those ratepayers who had petitioned for its organization. Accordingly the old law was amended to provide for the compulsion of only those ratepayers who wished to support a separate school. After this victory

the ardor of the members cooled somewhat, for a week later the bill was moved back to the committee stage. After all the question was still an academic one and not worth a legal battle over the rights of the Legislature with respect to separate schools. The old law which provided for the compulsion of all ratepayers of a given religious faith was restored.

Such were the changes which led towards the centralization of the school system. The separate school adherents never had a chance in the struggle. Unfortunately for them the whole question of separate schools was bound up with that of Provincial or Territorial autonomy and also with the struggle against established privilege. This was the day of large grants of land to railway companies and of other privileges to profiteers by the Dominion Government. The west also was girding up its loins for "better terms". Anything with the flavor of special privilege received short shrift at the hands of the local assemblies whether that privilege had any right in law or not. Dominion sanction of a right did not make such an institution any more popular. Those who regard our criticism of our governments as a sign of decay should hear one of the "Old Timers" about governments of his day. The editorials of the Bulletin are very enlightening on this subject, reflecting the uncompromising attitudes of the people. It is small wonder then that separate school rights should have been ignored in the way they were. Mr. Prince might thunder about the rights of minorities; and Mr. Clinkskill might argue that, in practice, all important questions would be left in the hands of the Superintendent with less responsibility to the House than the existing Board of Education; but this left the members unperturbed. They had determined to establish a uniform system of education for the territories. There was to be a common inspectorate, a common

examination and uniform qualifications for teachers. Furthermore there was to be one approved list of text-books. It was indeed a great blow to the Roman Catholic separate schools.

It is probable that this act only hastened an inevitable process of development. Under the old act separate schools could only be organized within the boundaries of existing public school districts. Owing to the sparse population this clause almost nullified any attempt to organize separate schools. This in itself would have made the rights of minority schools insignificant within a few years. But the struggle left great bitterness for a long time.

The Superintendent of Education

In 1893 the bill became law and the government moved to implement the changes which had been instituted. Dr. D. J. Goggin, Principal of the Manitoba Normal School in Winnipeg, was appointed Superintendent of Education in the North West Territories at a salary of three thousand dollars per annum. That the appointment was not received with much enthusiasm on the part of the members can be seen from the records. Mr. Haultain, the Premier, was forced to defend the high salary from the standpoint of the multifarious duties which Dr. Goggin would perform, rather than from the standpoint of merit or qualifications. The duties of the Superintendent consisted of the training of teachers, the inspection of schools, and the chairmanship of the Board of Examiners. He stated that the government could not appoint a man for each of these positions. However, something of the real reason for the appointment is evident from his further statement that no elaborate system of organization could be expected to work without a good teacher. There was no qualified individual in the Territories to take charge of teacher-training. To provide good teachers was to be the assignment of

Dr. Goggin's organization.¹

No better appointment could have been made for the position.

This does not mean that the appointment was always popular with the members of the Legislature. Even as late as 1895 some were still criticizing the salary paid to the "official" of the Council of Public Instruction. With the people at large, however, and with the teachers, he became increasingly popular, as he infused new life into the educational system. Even the documents gained bulk as they became filled with reports of current teaching methods and future plans. By birth and training Dr. Goggin was connected with the best educational traditions of Ontario and had a high reputation with the educational bodies of the Dominion of Canada. Many of the present teachers of our province remember him as an affable individual well equipped to meet public bodies. Not only had he a broad education and a lofty idealism himself, but he was able to impart a great deal of his zeal to the teaching body. This idealism, combined with the practical experience which he had obtained in Manitoba, provided an impetus to education which can still be felt. One need only attend teachers' conventions of today to hear echoes of statements which fill his reports, and which were repeated often in the conventions of those days.²

So well were the foundations laid that there was little change in principle during the next few years. However, the growing population demanded a specialization of function for the various administrative bodies. It could not be expected that the whole council sitting as a Council of Public

1. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, September 4, 1893.

2. Dr. Baird of Winnipeg, now retired, spoke of Dr. Goggin as a speaker with a remarkable ability to get in close touch with students and teachers.

Instruction could attend to all the Administrative duties which were forced upon it. Pressure of public business induced the government to set up a department to take care of the administration of education in the Territories.

The separate school question was a perennial trouble maker.

Provision had been made in the act of 1892 for the appointment of four non-voting members to the Council of Public Instruction. In 1894 these appointments had not yet been made; Mr. Prince therefore moved that certain information be given with respect to a meeting of the Council. Apparently the whole executive Council had difficulty in meeting on every question of school administration. Still more difficult was the provision for the inclusion of the four members who sat in an advisory capacity. It was easier to leave matters to the Superintendent without calling a formal meeting. A memorial from Archbishop Taché and the criticism of the opposition forced the Executive to refer their grievances to a Standing Committee. No action was taken on the desire of the Roman Catholics to exercise greater control with respect to textbooks and the teaching of French; but the Committee came to a decision in regard to the procedure of the Council of Public Instruction, namely that no general regulations respecting the management and discipline of schools, inspection or Normal training should be adopted except at a general meeting of the said Council.

Demands for Normal School Training

During 1894 much time was spent in discussing a resolution introduced by Mr. Betts² providing for the establishment of a larger number of Normal sessions throughout the Territories. His resolution definitely named

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1. Journals of the Assembly of the North-West Territories, September 6, 1894.
 2. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 1894.

a larger number of centres where these sessions might be held, and he complained especially that the district of Saskatchewan had been denied the benefits of Normal training altogether. Apparently there had been complaints from other quarters, too, for Mr. Haultain was ready with a detailed list of the applicant teachers in each district. Alberta had five applicants for a Second Class session and six for a third. Saskatchewan fell below this. Apparently Mr. Betts was vulnerable in the debate because he had treated the matter from the standpoint of teachers. Mr. Haultain declared that it was necessary to consider the matter from the standpoint of the people as well as the teachers. It was impossible, financially, to establish a Normal School wherever there were applicants.

In the above discussion there is an interesting reference which shows the relative importance of Edmonton as compared with the other centres in the Territories. Mr. Oliver saw an opportunity to advance the claims of Edmonton upon this point and clashed with Mr. F. R. Insinger upon the claims of another centre, Wallace, in Saskatchewan. The best argument that Mr. Oliver could marshal on this occasion for Edmonton as against Wallace was that the latter was near the Manitoba boundary where teachers could be obtained easily. There was no question of population or importance. Apparently Edmonton had suffered badly for want of a railway between 1884 and 1892.

Amendments to the School Ordinance, 1895

By 1895 there had been changes which compelled a further consolidation of the Ordinance. An already substantial influx of foreign settlers necessitated a simplification of the text of the Ordinance, and it seemed a good opportunity especially as copies of the Ordinance of 1892 had run out. The amendments proposed by Mr. Haultain did not make any changes in principle

except that they sought to make the organization of new districts more difficult. Mr. Haultain felt that such a restriction was necessary if the members wished to avoid a decrease in the grants to existing schools.¹ He now proposed that an enrolment of at least twelve children of school age be required before a new district could be organized. In introducing this bill he felt that some opportunity ought to be given the members to propose amendments as the old ordinance had been in force for three years. In that period he felt that weaknesses should have made themselves evident, which members would have the opportunity to rectify. One major change proposed was in the payment of school grants. Under the old system increased grants had become operative with success in the examinations. The new system proposed increased grants on the basis of the inspector's report. Mr. Haultain claimed this to be an improvement following the British system. Another change increased the grants in favor of schools which were operated only during the summer months.

There was an immediate outburst of criticism of the proposed changes. Mr. Oliver objected to lowering school grants in any way. It may be that he was influenced in his criticism by the effect of the new proposals upon urban schools which would be visited more often by the inspector, but it is more probable that he was also thinking of greater difficulties of organization around Edmonton, which was just beginning to receive settlers in great numbers. Both he and Mr. Mowat felt that there were other places where cuts might be made. The latter even hastened to point out where the economy might be effected. He declared that there was an official of the department who received more money than Mr. Haultain himself. In spite of

1. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, August 29, 1895.

Mr. Haultain's assurance that every opportunity would be given for the proposal of amendments, the separate school supporters were disappointed to hear that this would not apply to the text of the bill but to the amendments which he himself had suggested. The bill passed very much as he had planned.

Criticism of the Council of Public Instruction

During the closing years of the nineteenth century the criticism of the Territorial Government's school administration could be divided under the following heads. In the first place, there was the question of normal schools and qualification of teachers. With this there was connected the whole question of separate school rights over which there had been a good deal of controversy in Manitoba and Ottawa. In the second place, there was opposition to the appointment of Dr. Goggin personally. Sometimes this criticism followed upon the increasingly stringent qualifications demanded of teachers. At other times it flamed over the difficulties which had to be experienced in the inspection of schools. Sometimes also the real reasons came out in the open and definite proposals were made for reducing his salary. It is very difficult to separate the issues at stake. One can only follow the events and draw conclusions. What must be remembered is that upon almost every issue opinions differed not upon the basis of any party policy but because of personal interests. As the separate school question receded into insignificance in the territories after the Ordinance of 1892, a growing independence was manifested in the behaviour of the various members. Of these Mr. Oliver of Edmonton strangely comes to the front. This is especially surprising when we consider that throughout the whole struggle over "responsible government" in the Territories, Mr. Haultain had no stronger supporter than Mr. Oliver.

Soon after the appointment of Dr. Goggin the regulations with respect to teachers became more severe. Compulsory attendance of all teachers, no matter how long their experience, was demanded at a Normal school. As the only normal school was at Regina this caused great inconvenience especially to the poorer schools where teachers with lower certificates had been hired. The separate school supporters declared that his regulation had been specially aimed at Roman Catholics. On the other hand, Mr. Oliver saw a large number of schools closed near Edmonton¹ which was still one of the pioneering areas, and he wasted no time in bringing these to the notice of the Assembly. He declared that the regulation had been passed without the knowledge of the Assembly and was detrimental to the interests of education. Especially was it harmful as (in his opinion) the Normal School of Regina had not enough to offer in return for the sacrifice demanded. He considered that those teachers who had been trained in the East had qualifications superior to anything which they could acquire in Regina. The Roman Catholics were demanding that the Sisters be exempt from this regulation. Mr. Oliver did not hesitate to offer even these a measure of support. If they were qualified then they should be allowed to teach without any further trouble. If not, he would refuse to grant them a certificate to teach. Apparently the west, having gone through a period of excitement earlier, refused to be drawn too deeply into the separate school controversy which was continuing in other parts of Canada. Having achieved State control over education in principle, members were willing to make concessions on details.

1. Edmonton Bulletin, January 11, 1894.

Debate on this question was resumed on the floor of the house when the School Ordinance was introduced again by Mr. Haultain in 1896. The French-speaking members again led the attack on the Council of Public Instruction. The Premier replied that he could not see any advantage to be gained by attacks upon the Council. Public opinion had pretty well crystallized over the whole problem and it was useless to prolong the matter further. At the same time he answered Mr. Daniel Maloney's charge that schools were closed because the qualifications demanded from teachers were too high. It was not the difficulty of the examinations nor the stringency of the regulations of the Council that caused schools to remain without a teacher. He declared that if all schools demanded only scholarship and fitness for the task, teachers could be found to fill the schools of the Territories especially as provisional certificates could be obtained upon the application of the trustees. What caused the difficulty was the special qualifications demanded by the people themselves. In addition to everything else, Mr. Maloney's schools demanded that the teacher be a Roman Catholic.¹ Unfortunately too few Roman Catholics chose to take up teaching so that there was difficulty in obtaining the teachers necessary. In spite of this defence of government policy, provision was almost immediately made for the holding of Third Class Normal Sessions in Edmonton. Hitherto in the present province of Alberta such sessions had only been held in Calgary.²

Popularity of the Superintendent

A full dress debate on the status of Dr. Goggin took place on December 7, 1897 when Mr. T. J. Agnew moved that the salary be reduced from

1. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, September 30, 1896.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, December 21, 1896.

\$3000 to \$2500. When the mover introduced his motion he was not very certain of himself, and he was correct in estimating that his support would not be very strong. Between the time of his appointment and this debate Dr. Goggin had visited a large number of settlements and was very well known to the people of the country. It was his custom to bring the teachers together in towns for professional discussion. Thus began the Teachers' Institutes, later known as Teachers' Conventions.¹ Not only did he speak to the teachers during the day, but it was also his custom to address the public on educational matters in the evening. The topics were usually well chosen and invariably interesting. We must remember that the only opportunity the people had for intellectual contacts was an election every few years or a service at the church if there was a minister. Furthermore, a speaker with the qualities of Dr. Goggin was sure to gather all those who had children. He was thoroughly modern in his view that morals and manners should be a principal part of the teaching given to a child. To a modern teacher there might be too great a stress upon the manner side of the question, but the thirst for continual addition to the course of studies had hardly begun yet to replace this subject. He was also deeply religious and the importance of religion in education received his attention. Piety, he believed, should be imparted by the parents, for teachers were forbidden to teach religion as part of the course.²

In addition to these services, Dr. Goggin had saved the members of the Assembly a good deal of trouble in solving some of the tangles in their districts. No member was inclined to oppose one who had become popular and who had contributed so much to educational progress. Even Mr. James Clinkskill, a separate school supporter, hastened to express his entire

1. Edmonton Bulletin, May 30, 1893.

2. Ibid., July 2, 1894.

satisfaction with the work of the Superintendent though he admitted he had been critical of the appointment in the first place.¹ He supported Mr. Haultain and others in declaring that permanent heads should get fixed salaries so that they might keep their positions under successive governments. As an argument in defence of the appointment the Premier stated that Dr. Goggin had refused an offer of \$2800 in Winnipeg to accept the position in the North-West Territories. He believed the salary reasonable, as the holders of similar positions in Canada and the United States received \$5000 and above. In answer to the criticism of Mr. Boucher from the Battleford district that seven schools had been closed in his area, he declared that the schools were closed because the teachers were not giving value for the grant paid. Better teachers could not be brought in because there was no place for them to live. Furthermore the districts had no organization and collected no taxes, which made it still more difficult to obtain the teachers required.

Progressive Thinking in the Assembly

In spite of all the criticisms of the government reviewed here at some length, the period was not barren of progressive efforts on the part of the members. For instance, vigorous opposition by Mr. Olinkskill blocked a move on the part of Mr. Mowat to delete the clause requiring trustees to pay a teacher for a period of sickness up to a limit of one month. He declared this would leave a teacher altogether at the mercy of the trustees.² The same Mr. Mowat, however, showed a more progressive bent when he made a plea for technical education. He believed there was too much useless learning which did not fit anyone for life. Of course it was too early to gain any

1. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, December 7, 1897.

2. Ibid., October 1, 1896.

support for such a progressive measure, but the incident shows that some members were interested. Mr. Haultain opposed the idea on the ground of expense. However, he hastened to add other reasons which prove that he had discussed the matter at some length with the superintendent. He declared that school was not intended to fit one for a particular trade but to give mental training. Furthermore he did not know what technical education involved. Would Mr. Mowat include sewing? During this period the Premier also introduced a Public Service Bill which heralded the beginning of a departmental system. The work was fast becoming too involved to be dealt with by the executive sitting as a Committee of Public Instruction. Soon after this an amendment had to be made to the Ordinance delegating some of the authority in routine matters to the chairman alone. Even compulsory attendance, so necessary a part of our modern system, was proposed by one of the members. The state of the country was not such as to permit any change at this time, but the proposal (having been accepted in the most progressive educational systems) was certain to become law later.¹

The End of the Pioneer Era

In fact we are coming to the end of an era in the government of the North-West Territories. Hitherto there had been no elaborate government, and educational matters had been dealt with by the Executive. Up to this time there had only been two members who had sat as a permanent executive. As the population of the territories increased and as the demand for provincial status became stronger, it could be expected that many of the practices of provincial governments would be followed. Departmentalization of the various branches of the service, and especially of education, became

1. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, December 11, 1897.

a crying need. The service had grown to such an extent that it merited the attention of one member of the cabinet; indeed it could no longer be performed by a body meeting only occasionally. Such a practice would certainly throw all the responsibility on the non-elective part of the administration. There might have been some point to the criticism of the separate school supporters that the superintendent had too much power.

We see the end of an era, too, in the financial provision for educational administration. Hitherto the government had provided seventy percent of the school expenditure. The grant towards education took a much larger proportion of the annual Territorial budget than of any modern provincial budget. In fact, much more was spent on education than the pioneering conditions warranted. In the words of Mr. Haultain, other services had been starved to maintain education. The time was coming when the people themselves must submit to higher taxation so that the provincial grant might form a smaller part of the annual expenditure for education. In spite of the generous provision of the Dominion government there was difficulty in meeting this expenditure. It was fortunate that towards the end of the century additional income came from the discovery of gold in the Yukon.¹ Unfortunately; that region was separated from the Territories shortly after the gold rush, so that the Territorial Government had a surplus for only one year. Nevertheless, even in that year, the government hastened to increase school expenditure wherever this might be necessary.²

1. Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, August 16, 1898.

2. "Hansard" of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, September 13, 1898.

CHAPTER VI

THE PREPARATION FOR PROVINCIAL STATUS (1901-1905)

The Act of 1901¹ made certain changes in the administration of schools in the Territories which were to be of vast importance to the educational system. Under this act a Department of Education was organized. In charge of this there was a political head known as a Commissioner of Education whose status was similar to that of a present day Minister. A permanent head was provided in the person of a Deputy Commissioner. The officials first appointed to these posts were Hon. F. W. G. Haultain and Mr. J. P. Calder respectively, Dr. Goggin remaining as the Superintendent of Education. During the interval under review Mr. Haultain resigned from the position of Commissioner leaving Mr. Calder in his place, as the latter had resigned his position and had become a member of the Territorial Assembly. In 1903 Dr. Goggin resigned, having accepted a position with a publishing company in the east. His position was not filled again. So well had the organization of schools got under way that his duties were performed by the new Deputy Commissioner of Education, Mr. D. P. McColl, who had become Principal of the Regina Normal School after Dr. Goggin's resignation.

The new sections of the Ordinance respecting schools read as follows:

" Department of Education

3. There shall be a department of the public service of the Territories called the Department of Education over which the member of the Executive Council, appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council under the seal of the Territories to discharge the functions of Commissioner of Education for the time being, shall preside.

1. The School Ordinance, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1901.

4. The department shall have control and management of all kindergarten schools, public and separate schools, normal schools, teachers' institutes, and the education of the deaf, deaf mute and blind persons.

5. The Commissioner shall have the administration, control and management of the department and shall oversee and direct the officers, clerks, and servants thereof."

" Educational Council

8. There shall be an Educational Council consisting of five members at least two of whom shall be Roman Catholics to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council; who shall receive such remuneration as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall determine.

10. All general regulations respecting the inspection of schools, the examination, training, licensing and grading of teachers, course of study, teachers' institutes and text and reference books before being adopted or amended shall be referred to the council for its discussion and report.

11. The council.....may also consider any question concerning the educational system of the Territories as to it may seem fit and shall report thereon to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council."

Separate Schools

An important change was effected with respect to separate schools.

Under this ordinance no religious teaching could be given in any school until the last half hour. Under the act of 1885¹ religious teaching was not allowed in public schools but no mention was made of separate schools. The Ordinance of 1892 had returned to that of 1884², which allowed religious teaching in the last hour. The Ordinance of 1901³ stated that the first school in any district must be a public school. If a minority desired their own school, they could create a separate organization.⁴ However, the control of teaching, inspection and text-books was so centralized under the Department of Education.

1. The School Ordinance, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1885.

2. The School Ordinance, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1884.

3. The School Ordinance, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1901.

4. Ibid.

that the privileges of separate schools were very inconsiderable and were hardly worth the trouble and expense. This was a long step from the rights originally given to the minority by the North West Territories Act, 1875. Again and again had the Roman Catholic hierarchy protested against this continual watering down of their rights, but, after the storm in Manitoba, no Dominion government dared to interfere too openly.

School Grants

This was a period of tremendous development in the history of the North-West. When the Liberal government came into office in 1896 the national immigration figures for the year had reached about sixteen thousand. By 1905 the annual figure was almost a hundred and fifty thousand. A large proportion of these immigrants entered the West creating new problems. Towns and cities grew almost overnight. There were ever growing demands for more schools and more teachers. From a total of 564 schools in operation in 1901 in the North-West Territories, the number grew until we find a total of 1459 regularly formed districts in 1905. Two hundred and thirty-seven districts were formed in 1904. The number of teachers required grew proportionally to the development in the organization of districts. So great was the demand for new teachers that the Normal Schools were forced to hold two sessions annually instead of one. Even then teachers had to be brought in from other provinces. The report of the Department of Education for 1903 states that two hundred and twelve teachers were admitted. In addition to this, eighty-two permits were issued. How the cities grew can be realized from the fact that a school costing forty thousand dollars was built in 1902 in Edmonton. The same report states that another building

Table I.

Summary of School Statistics 1886-1904 ¹

: Year :	Schools in :	Pupils :	Teachers :	Total Grants Paid :
: : Operation. :	Enrolled :	Employed :	to Schools :	
: 1886 :	76 :	2,553 :	84 :	\$ 8,908.72 :
: 1887 :	111 :	3,114 :	125 :	36,897.47 :
: 1888 :	131 :	3,453 :	150 :	44,547.06 :
: 1889 :	164 :	4,574 :	183 :	56,984.63 :
: 1890 :	195 :	5,389 :	224 :	85,002.55 :
: 1891 :	213 :	5,652 :	248 :	129,042.01 :
: 1892 :	249 :	6,170 :	295 :	121,056.94 :
: 1893 :	262 :	8,214 :	307 :	106,576.59 :
: 1894 :	300 :	10,721 :	353 :	113,999.85 :
: 1895 :	341 :	11,972 :	401 :	112,182.90 :
: 1896 :	366 :	12,796 :	433 :	126,218.21 :
: 1897 :	394 :	14,576 :	457 :	121,457.18 :
: 1898 :	426 :	16,754 :	483 :	133,642.79 :
: 1899 :	454 :	18,801 :	545 :	142,455.89 :
: 1900 :	492 :	20,343 :	592 :	168,322.03 :
: 1901 :	564 :	23,837 :	682 :	162,215.07 :
: 1902 :	640 :	27,441 :	783 :	155,558.41 :
: 1903 :	743 :	33,191 :	916 :	213,764.72 :
: 1904 :	917 :	41,033 :	1,129 :	239,380.01 :

1. Report of the Department of Education of the North-West Territories, 1904-1905.

would have to be erected owing to the rapid growth of the school population.¹

The Ordinance of 1901² made further changes in the method of the payment of school grants. There were to be five conditions upon which depended the amount of school grants. An altogether new principle was the payment upon the amount of assessable land. Hitherto every district had been paid a flat per diem amount; this had operated to the disadvantage of small and sparsely settled districts. On the new basis every district that comprised 6400 acres of assessable land would receive \$1.20 for each day that school was kept open. In case the district was larger, the grant was reduced gradually to a minimum of \$.90 a day. Bonuses were paid depending upon the length of time school was kept open and the class of certificate held by the teacher. The first bonus was meant to encourage schools to keep open more than one hundred and sixty days per year, by providing an additional grant of forty cents for every day of operation in excess of that number. The other bonus was paid to all schools whose teachers had a first class certificate. The payment was only ten cents a day but its effect was to encourage both teachers and trustees. The latter found it profitable to secure better teachers while the former were encouraged to seek higher qualifications. A new bonus was also offered depending upon the regularity of attendance. Hitherto the payment had been on the basis of average attendance and larger schools, which were usually more prosperous, could earn higher grants. The new grant plan was a plan to aid the smaller schools. It was hoped, moreover, that the new grant would increase the regularity of attendance. The last factor in the allotment of grants was a principle copied from the old ordinance.

1. Edmonton Bulletin, June 16, 1902.

2. The School Grants Ordinance, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1901.

The amount depended upon the report of the inspector with respect to the state of the school. Its effect was to compel both teachers and trustees to take a greater interest in the school. Half of the sum received under this section was to be spent on the purchase of books for the school library. On the whole these grants were the best that could be effectively administered under the pioneer conditions existing at the time. They encouraged regularity of attendance, the building up of a school library, the employment of teachers with higher certificates and the care of the school. No better system could be evolved until larger districts were organized to make the promotion of teachers more systematic. It is unfortunate that the later governments did not continue some of the policies followed at this time.

Problems of Administration

Other questions disturbing the minds of those interested in education were those of consolidation of school areas and the introduction of manual training. The Ordinance of 1901 offered additional inducements for the establishment of consolidated schools. The government concluded that school districts with a limited population could offer only limited facilities in education. The annual report of 1903 complained of the difficulties especially with respect to secondary education.¹ In this report it was recognized that increased financial assistance would have to be forthcoming. In speaking to the Dominion Educational Convention in Winnipeg, Mr. Calder admitted that the difficulties were very great owing to the sparsity of population. There was still a large prejudice in the minds of the legislators in favor of the smaller school area. The report of 1903 visualized that an increase in the population would bring demands for smaller districts rather

1. Report of the Department of Education of the North-West Territories, 1903.

than larger. From what can be gleaned from the newspapers and the reports of this period there does not seem to be any indication of extraordinary interest in or enthusiasm for consolidated schools.

Manual training schools were established at Calgary and Edmonton as a result of a generous private donation. As many of the virtues claimed for the subject seemed extravagant to Dr. Goggin, he gave some room in his report to a treatment of its values and limitations.¹ He stated that manual training was really not another subject but rather an added mode of study. It was only a further attempt to help the pupils to convert thought into action since "action tests and clarifies thinking". Manual training, in other forms, had long been a subject of study. The only innovation was in the materials used. He divided its supporters into two categories. Some advocated the subject for its utilitarian value. Others valued it because it revealed to the pupil hidden aptitudes and indicated what calling the student was fitted for. He condemned the extravagant claims made for it. It would not take the place of reading, writing, or arithmetic. Its greatest value lay in a correlation of the physical, the manual, and the intellectual.

Probably some further notice should be taken of the resignation of Dr. Goggin from his position as Superintendent of Education in 1903. As late as June we still find him attending meetings of teachers throughout the country. On June 9, 1903, there is a report of his address to the Teachers' Institute held in Edmonton where he spoke of the teaching of Arithmetic and Composition. In spite of the loss, his resignation was a blessing in some respects. So manifestly did his influence predominate in all matters of educational interest in the North-West that his presence was

1. Report of the Department of Education of the North-West Territories, 1903.

a deterrent to the healthy development of the teaching organization. After his departure more responsibility was placed on the individual teachers and their organization, and in succeeding years teachers themselves prepared resolutions for the consideration of the Department of Education. Nevertheless his influence was lasting, and the Report of the Department of Education for 1903 gives expression to the universal regret at his resignation. Some of his former pupils acknowledge his influence even at the present day.

The Autonomy Bills, 1905.

Earlier in this chapter mention was made of the tremendous development in the North-West. It is important to note this development for another reason; the Dominion Government could not postpone the consideration of provincial status for the Territories very much longer. On the debate over the Autonomy Bills, Mr. Robert Borden twitted Sir Wilfred Laurier for refusing to concede that status in answer to resolutions from the Territorial Assembly and for postponing it until the election in 1904. It seemed strange to him that the Prime Minister had discovered the necessity for conceding autonomy in the midst of an election campaign. Speculation had been rife from 1903 about the policy of the government with respect to the ever youthful question of separate schools. The Ontario newspapers foreboded that Ottawa would shackle the provinces by limiting their freedom in education. There was even an effort to make this an issue in the election but it failed owing to the "Fabian tactics of the government".¹

Following the election there had been some discussion as to the policy which the government would follow with respect to the school question. Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, was forced to

1. Dufoe, John W., "Clifford Sifton in Relation to his Times", Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan and Company, 1931, p. 277.

go south for his health when the session opened. Knowing that the matter would come up for consideration he had called the western members into consultation. His own position in the Manitoba School Question and his inclination prompted him to leave the provinces free to follow their own devices. On the other hand, he knew that such a step would throw Canadian politics into a turmoil over religious and racial issues which might work incalculable harm to the future of the Canadian nation. Accordingly he came to the conclusion that the best policy was to incorporate in the constitution a clause guaranteeing the rights which the minority already held under the Ordinance of 1901. He intimated this to the Prime Minister prior to his departure.

On February 21, 1905, Sir Wilfrid introduced the Autonomy Bills. In these bills he had incorporated, word for word, the clause from the North West Territories Act of 1875. In his speech he drew a parallel between the policy of Great Britain and that of the United States with respect to schools and was loud in his eulogy of schools where religion was taught:

"I would say that I never could understand what objection there could be to a system of schools wherein, after secular matters have been attended to, the tenets of the religion of Christ.....are allowed to be taught".¹

There is still a dispute as to what Sir Wilfrid meant in the clause which was introduced. The statement which is quoted above would indicate that he only wished religious tenets to be taught during the latter part of the day, which was allowed by the Ordinance as it stood at the time. On the other hand, his opponents claim that he would not have spoken so long about the value of religion in schools if he had merely carried out Mr. Sifton's wishes.

1. Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Hansard, 1905, Vol. I; p. 1458.

Sir Wilfrid himself always claimed that he wished to incorporate the rights of the Catholics as they stood at the time under the Ordinance.

During this speech he also gave an exhaustive account of the history of the separate school question and the clause in the B.N.A. Act which guaranteed separate school rights. It was on the insistence of Galt that the clause had been incorporated. At the Quebec Conference the delegates from Quebec and Ontario alike had promised that acts would be passed guaranteeing those rights. Quebec had carried out her part of the bargain, but the opposition in Ontario had made the agreement ineffective. Because of this Galt had resigned, but he was still invited to accompany the delegation to London to watch over the piloting of the bill through the British Parliament, in order that the rights of the Protestant minority in Quebec might be defended. The Act of 1875 had been passed without much protest except a warning in the Senate from George Brown. Alexander Mackenzie had incorporated the separate school clause on the advice of Edward Blake, who felt that this would prevent future heart-burning and encourage the settlement of all classes and religions in the west. Under this law a majority of Catholics could create a Catholic school. Where they were in the minority they could create a separate school. We have already reviewed the subsequent history of separate schools in the various ordinances of the North West Territorial Assembly.

In parliament there was only a mild interest. Robert Laird Borden, the leader of the Conservative Opposition, was conciliatory. The bill only implemented what he had advocated for many years. As leader of the opposition he had supported the demands of Mr. Haultain in the last election. Mr. Borden's support and the government's vacillation had finally convinced Mr. Haultain that western rights could only be obtained through a crushing defeat of the

Liberal party.¹ After protesting that a copy of the bill had not been provided, Mr. Borden merely said the following:-

".... I sincerely trust that on both sides of the House we will not seek to make this a political question in any sense."²

The west also refused to be excited though criticism persisted in some of the newspapers and pulpits. It is true that Mr. Haultain's stand against the Liberals received warm support in Saskatchewan, but there was no such non-partisan leader in Alberta; and the other alternative, Conservatism, did not appeal to this province. While the west was opposed to the Premier's original clause, the general prosperity of the railway expansion era had resulted in an inclination to compromise.³ Again and again the Bulletin expressed surprise that there should be so much interest in the East, claiming that separate schools in the sense understood by the people of Ontario did not exist in the West.⁴

Sir Wilfrid had anticipated some criticism but he was not prepared for the outburst which followed in the East. The attack was led by the Toronto newspapers.⁵ A good deal of the outburst was not quieted even after the compromise clause was substituted, since it came from those who wished to destroy separate school rights altogether. The Orangemen circulated a petition to parliament against the measure. This was to be expected, but from less biased quarters came similar expression. Such men as Dr. J. Goggin, L.L.D., the former Superintendent of Education, and Rev. Charles W. Gordon addressed meetings of protest. The Globe of Toronto published an open letter addressed to the Prime Minister by Mr. Haultain, criticizing the autonomy

1. The Canadian Annual Review, 1904, p. 202.

2. Hansard, February 21, 1905, p. 1466.

3. Edmonton Bulletin, June 7, 1905.

4. Edmonton Bulletin, May 10, 1905.

5. The Canadian Annual Review, 1905, pp. 41-92.

legislation and asking that all reference to separate schools be deleted altogether from the Autonomy Bills. Mr. Haultain explained that such an omission would leave the power exclusively in the hands of the Provincial legislature subject to the provisions of the B.N.A. Act.¹

Of greater concern was the storm in the Liberal party itself.

Mr. Sifton hurried back to Ottawa, and, after a long session with the Prime Minister on February 27, sent in his resignation the next day. Two days later the resignation was announced in the house, where Mr. Sifton gave as his reasons the principles stated in the Prime Minister's speech and specific provisions dealing with education within the Autonomy Bills. Rumors were rife that Mr. Fielding was about to follow his example. The "Globe," a Liberal newspaper in Toronto, declared that the government had no right to dictate in matters of education to a province, though it might do so in a territory.

Sir Wilfrid was at a loss to understand the extent of the agitation. He had been prepared for some criticism, but he certainly had not expected it to be so severe. It was his view that the compact of Confederation applied to all minorities as well as to the provinces. He was particularly surprised by the criticism within Liberal ranks since the bills continued a compromise initiated by Alexander Mackenzie. He protested in a letter to J. R. Dougall of the Montreal Witness² that the bills merely safeguarded the existing system in which there were no separate schools as Ontario understood them but a system of essentially national schools. He quoted from the Ordinance of 1901 to show the extent of the control of the Department of Education over

1. The Canadian Annual Review, 1905, p. 56.

2. Skelton, O.W., "Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Vol. 2", Toronto, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1921, p. 232.

what were considered separate schools. He denied any inconsistency between his positions in 1896 and 1905. On both occasions he had opposed intolerance, first, the intolerance of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics who would deny freedom to their own followers, then the intolerance of the Protestants who would accept privileges for the Protestant minority in Quebec, but who were unwilling to carry out their share of the compromise when a Catholic minority was involved. He sympathized with the ideals of those who urged the need of national schools to hold together a country of many diverse creeds and origins but he could not agree that, in the schools or out, national unity involved a drab and compulsory uniformity.

Arguing from the above, Sir Wilfrid's supporters claimed that the whole furore was a blunder due to the desire of such men as the Minister of Justice, Mr. Fitzpatrick, to force the issue. On the other hand, those who supported Mr. Sifton claimed that the Government was following a well planned scheme to establish separate school rights by hurrying the bills through before the return of Mr. Sifton from the south. There is no need to take either side very seriously. We must imagine the Prime Minister as a busy man subject to all kinds of pressure. Having finally reached a decision, he introduced a clause which, in his opinion, would be satisfactory to both sides. No one with the experience of Sir Wilfrid, especially after the Manitoba episode, could have thought it possible for any separate school rights to exist after the people had made up their minds to abolish those rights. The clause of 1875 would satisfy the Roman Catholics that he was doing the best possible under the circumstances. On the other hand the Protestants could not complain because they had built up a national school system in the North-West Territories with that clause in existence. It merely served as a brake for the legislators, reminding them that there were

minorities which it would be well to placate. There is no evidence that Mr. Sifton had stated any objections to the clause.

On the other hand Mr. Sifton was probably reading into the clause what he heard from others, probably from French-speaking members like Mr. Bourassa. Furthermore, there was no love lost between him and the Minister of Justice, Mr. Fitzpatrick, owing to the latter's appointment to a position which he himself had coveted.¹ Twice had Sir Wilfrid acted in opposition to his wishes. Might there not be a hidden motive in the clause? As it stood there were a number of objections in spite of the good intentions of the Prime Minister. To ascertain the rights of the separate schools litigation was necessary. It was certainly desirable that the new act should be a settlement and not the beginning of a long period of uncertainty. When Mr. Sifton objected to the clause Sir Wilfrid asked him to submit his own for the government's consideration. Apparently Mr. Sifton understood that the clause would have to resemble the one from the Act of 1875. It is difficult to analyze motives. Twice he had applied to the Prime Minister for appointments which would free him from the storm of political life. This was getting too strenuous; and there were rumours of a further attack upon his administration in his capacity as Minister of the Interior. (An attack did come in the next session though by that time he had almost retired from politics).² Whatever were the plans of the Prime Minister, Mr. Sifton suggested before his departure that he would agree to a clause in the autonomy bills continuing the educational system as it had been fashioned by the Territorial Assembly up to 1905.³ He was in favor of giving the provinces a free hand, but he decided that the above clause was the only one

1. Daeoe, J.W., "Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times", Toronto, Ontario: MacMillan and Company, 1931, p.279.

2. Ibid., pp. 302-326.

3. Ibid., p.287.

which had the shadow of a chance to pass the Dominion Parliament without a political upheaval. In his opinion it was a compromise. On the one hand, it would check Mr. Haultain as the clause merely continued a system which Mr. Haultain had been instrumental in forming. On the other hand, it should satisfy the Catholics as it was the most they could get under the circumstances. An attempt to obtain more might jeopardize the rights they would have under this clause. When Mr. Sifton returned from his vacation and discovered that the clause from the North-West Territories Act of 1875 had been substituted, he immediately resigned in order to be free to organize an independent following in opposition to the measure.

Nearly a month of private discussions followed. For some time the Prime Minister showed a tendency to refuse to have anything to do with any changes. It is likely that political life did not bear more lightly upon him than it did upon Mr. Sifton. Furthermore, the latter's resignation had lowered the prestige of the government. Fortunately more moderate councils prevailed and Mr. Sifton was asked to collaborate with the Minister of Justice in the preparation of the new clause. The insurgents chose H. M. Howell, K.C., of Winnipeg to represent them in conference. From what can be gathered these meetings were not always very peaceful. Suggestions for a compromise abounded. Mr. Haultain believed that restrictive measures applied to the new provinces as well as the old, and that it was unnecessary to incorporate any further limiting clauses in the Autonomy Bills. Sir Robert Borden agreed with Mr. Haultain about not including any clauses with respect to education, believing this would altogether free the provinces with respect to education. Finally the clause as it now stands, guaranteeing the rights of the minority as they stood under the Ordinance of 1901, was drafted and agreed upon. The second reading of the bills took place on March

22, a month after they had been introduced.

In parliament the amendment reunited the party but there was not the same disposition to accept the measure in Ontario. We find the Bulletin reporting the visit of Dr. Carmichael, Superintendent of the Presbyterian Missions. As late as June 7th, Dr. Carmichael remarked upon the absence of agitation in the West though there was still excitement in Ontario. He himself believed it was the best possible compromise under the circumstances. On April 2nd, the same source reported that Archbishop Langevin deprecated the failure of the government to guarantee the rights of the minority as they had been granted in 1875. Apparently the good archbishop was worried over the tendency of his adherents to accept the compromise philosophically. The Liberals had a good talking point in supporting the compromise. They claimed that separate schools had greater legal rights in Ontario while in Manitoba the government was conceding much more outside the law.¹ In the absence of any strong objection from the West the agitation burnt itself out. Though the debates were long, both bills were read for the third time at the end of June and the two provinces came into being.

It remains to give an account of what transpired just prior to the elections. Mr. Haultain chose to ally himself with the groups in active hostility to the bills, even in their new form. On March 24, the Prime Minister had read Mr. Haultain's open letter on the floor of the House. The chief attack from the Conservative side was to the effect that Haultain had not been consulted when the two bills were introduced. Mr. Haultain, together with Mr. R. B. Bennett, later Prime Minister of Canada, had campaigned in the two by-elections held in Ontario in the interval between the second and

1. Edmonton Bulletin, April 19, 1905; Speech of J. S. Williams of Toronto.

third reading of the two bills. Accordingly Sir Wilfrid summoned Mr. Walter Scott to the Premiership of the province of Saskatchewan. Mr. George H. V. Bulyea, because of his close association with Mr. Haultain, was made Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta where he would not suffer the pain of having to turn against an old friend politically. In the elections which followed, the Conservative Party under Mr. Haultain in Saskatchewan and Mr. Bennett in Alberta suffered defeat. Mr. Scott remained Premier in Saskatchewan while Mr. A. C. Rutherford became Premier of Alberta. Some attempt was made by both to resurrect the school question but without any success. The West was developing and satisfied. Furthermore, the Liberal cry of "Conservatives and the C.P.R." was a slogan which could not be beaten. The Liberal Party came into power in both provinces.

CHAPTER VII

DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM 1905 - 1921

The Province of Alberta was formed on September 1, 1905. It inherited a rapidly developing system consisting in this first year of some 600 schools. The first Alberta government assumed its duties in regard to education with enthusiasm and zeal. Within the first year 144 new school districts were organized and schools built. The province was being rapidly settled, albeit largely by non-English immigrants who knew nothing of the English language and little of British traditions.

The Ukrainian National Group

It was realized that one of the first necessities was to proceed as rapidly as possible with the Canadianization of the new-comers. A post designated Supervisor of Schools among Foreigners was created, Mr. Robert Fletcher being the first appointee with headquarters at Wostok. He was directed to give every possible assistance to the non-English settlers in the establishment of schools, the securing of teachers, and the levying and collection of taxes. He was authorized to act as official trustee for any district, and in this capacity to administer the affairs of the district pending the election of local trustees.

The task facing Mr. Fletcher was by no means easy. By 1915 there existed within his sphere of jurisdiction one hundred and thirty schools, lying for the most part in the area between Bruderheim and Vermilion. The most difficult problems were those of finding adequate funds and securing the services of well qualified teachers. While people were quite willing to assume control of their affairs, they did not always make the proper financial arrangements. Local boards were often too optimistic as to the

amounts collectible. On the other hand the people of the districts were not always willing to contribute the amounts for which they were assessed. Whether Boards were elected or not the ratepayers insisted on being consulted on all matters, and friction was constant.

There was no difficulty in the performance of the duties of trustees especially when it came to securing properly qualified teachers. In 1913 Mr. Fletcher reported that the province was being raided by teachers from other provinces sent by an organization composed of "certain well known agitators". It is open to question whether this was true. Teachers had come from Manitoba where they had been prepared in the English School for Foreigners instituted by the Conservative Government under Sir Rodmond Roblin. It might have been true that many of them were warmly grateful to the Conservative Government, especially as their treatment in this province was by no means generous. The stigma of "agitators" was attached to them by those who were supporters of the existing government of Alberta. Furthermore, their qualifications were low as compared with those of Normal-trained teachers though they compared favorably with those of "permit" teachers. Being very certain of support on both political and educational grounds, Mr. Fletcher acted promptly. The government was persuaded to pass amendments to the School Ordinance depriving an unqualified teacher of the right to recover in a court of law any remuneration for his services as a teacher. Another amendment made such a teacher liable to a fine not exceeding fifty dollars or to a term of one month imprisonment for teaching without a permit. About twenty school districts were involved, but most difficulty was experienced in Bukowina School¹ where the Supervisor reported he had to take legal

1. Report of Department of Education, 1913.

action to recover money illegally collected by the secretary, as the latter had used the school tax-roll to obtain taxes for the salary of an unqualified teacher.

It was one thing to prevent unqualified teachers from securing positions in these districts but another to provide sufficient certified teachers. To encourage more students to enter the teaching profession, Mr. Fletcher attempted to have residences built near the schools. This policy continued to the dying days of the Liberal Government when an amendment to the School Act authorized the government to grant one-third of the cost of a teacher's residence in order to encourage districts to build.

A further effort was made to prepare Ukrainian teachers for these districts. Following the example of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, an English School for Foreigners was established in Vegreville. In a resolution before the Legislature supported by Messrs. Walker and Holden, three thousand dollars were voted to establish a "Ruthenian Training School".¹ The object was to improve the students' knowledge of English before allowing them to enter the Normal Schools. Some criticism of this step was offered by the opposition who objected that this was planned to give special privileges to foreign-born students. In answer to this criticism the Minister of Education, the Hon. J. R. Boyle, had to explain that the purpose of the institution was to give regular diplomas on the conclusion of the work and that no permit to teach would be issued without the regular training.² W. A. Stickle, B. Paed. was appointed principal, and in 1912 a vacant store was rented to house the school in Vegreville. During the first year the number of students mounted

1. Edmonton Bulletin, January 31, 1912.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, September 13, 1926.

to twenty-six in grades ranging from one to nine. The principal had some difficulties in dealing with these students, but, on the whole, the experiment was eminently successful. The report of 1914 states that three of these students wrote on the Grade XI examinations. While the school was primarily opened for the purpose of training future teachers for the colony north of Vegreville, its graduates exerted influence which reached beyond the ranks of teachers alone. The young men from this institution became missionaries of education amongst their own people, and living symbols of the opportunity which beckoned to one and all of the newcomers in this country on an equality with all Canadian citizens. While a few remained permanently in teaching many entered the professions and others went into business.¹ As individuals they are a strong factor in Ukrainian life even today. Judging from this standpoint it is a pity the experiment had to be discontinued towards the end of the war when the problem of re-establishing returned soldiers occupied the public mind more than the training of young foreigners. The students themselves attempted to carry on with the help of Ukrainian-speaking citizens, and one institution, the Ukrainian Institute of Edmonton, organized on the dormitory principle, exists at the present day.

Other National Groups

With respect to the other new national groups in this country, there is little to say. The Lutheran Church established private schools throughout the province which became important enough to obtain special notice in the Departmental Report of 1914. As they received little encouragement from the Department of Education, most of them were closed in the same year

1. Report of Department of Education, 1914.

and did not reappear again as elementary school institutions.¹ In the secondary field, however, the Lutheran College in Camrose and the Concordia College in Edmonton have overcome their difficulties and are still thriving institutions. The Doukhobors did not enter Alberta in large numbers but the Hutterite Colonies are extensive. Nevertheless, little trouble has been experienced in establishing schools among these people.² On the whole, religious minorities seem to have caused much less difficulty in our schools than in those of any other province in Canada. This has probably been due to delicate handling by the officials but probably, also, to the overwhelming majorities of the parties in power. The Opposition groups were too weak even if they had wanted to champion the cause of any of the minorities.

The Problem of Teacher Shortage

The immediate problem in the organization of schools was that of obtaining sufficient teachers. A Normal school was opened in Calgary in 1905 under the principalship of Mr. G. J. Bryan. Almost immediately the instructors of the Normal School began to press for a longer period of training but this reform did not take place for many years. With the scarcity of teachers the Department was not too careful about qualifications. Two normal sessions were held during 1907. In the next year the Calgary Normal School building was completed and a practice school organized. In spite of this the number of teachers continued to be low. Not only were country schools being built, but there was feverish activity in the erection of school buildings in the towns and cities. Most of the large Edmonton and Calgary schools are of pre-war origin. The Department advertised for teachers in the British Isles and instituted a short course for those who came, to prepare them for Canadian conditions.

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1. Report of Chief Inspector of Schools; Report of Department of Education, 1914.
 2. Report of Department of Education, 1919; Mennonite Schools.

For the first time in 1913 graduates of accredited High Schools and Universities in the United States were granted permission to enter the Normal Schools on the condition of passing special examinations in History, Civics, and Geography. A new Normal School was built at Camrose in 1912 and classes were organized under the principalship of Dr. J. O. Miller. There was some criticism from the Opposition¹ as to the choice of location, but the Government hoped rural teachers might obtain special training here, especially as there was a good deal of interest in two courses which were added to the curriculum, viz., Agriculture and Gardening. As a result of these efforts we find that in 1914 the supply of teachers became sufficient to meet the demand. With this growth of supply, demands for a lengthened term also increased. Especially pressing in their recommendations were Dr. Coffin, principal of the Normal School, Calgary, and Inspector C. Sansom. They insisted that the short course was becoming an unbearable strain on the practice teaching facilities. Too many students had to be given an opportunity to teach and the numbers were still growing. A longer course would not only make professional preparation easier but would provide opportunity for more academic training. At one time Dr. Coffin had hazarded the opinion that preparation for teaching should begin with grade 8. In 1916 he recommended that a ten-month course be instituted. Not only this, but all Normal Training, in his opinion, should be followed by some scheme of progressive qualification since the attainment of a permanent certificate often marked the horizon of a candidate. Principal G. F. McNally of Camrose Normal School also pleaded for the extension of the training period. In his opinion the necessity for leadership in rural educational and social life demanded better trained teachers. Both hoped the School Boards might be

1. Edmonton Bulletin, March 19, 1913.

educated to encourage teachers by paying higher salaries and by providing more permanent employment.¹

The war again caused a shortage of teachers. The situation became so acute in 1918 that the Hon. J. R. Boyle, the Minister of Education, was forced to immediate action. The short term not only made it easy to enter the teaching profession, but enabled teachers to leave on slight pretext without serious loss of vocational preparation. The Department of Education obtained 300 teachers from outside the province and the Normal Schools trained 467, and yet the shortage was 800 at the end of the year. As a preliminary step a new scheme was initiated to provide extra-mural qualification for first class interim certificates. This consisted of a preliminary reading course followed by a course at summer school. It was also announced that the short course would be discontinued after that year.² In 1918 the period of training was extended to eight months. As many were unable to attend Normal School, the Government announced that loans would be made to Normal students to enable them to complete their course. Special consideration was given to returned soldiers.³

This did not settle all the difficulties of the Department. As there still continued to be a shortage of teachers, a third Normal School was opened in the Highlands School, Edmonton. The program of this school, at the beginning, was limited to an emergency course of twelve weeks intended to increase the number of available teachers immediately. At its completion only a temporary diploma was granted, the regular certificate being issued at the completion of additional training.⁴ Graduates were only required to

1. Report of the Department of Education, 1917.

2. Ibid., 1918.

3. Ibid., 1919.

4. Edmonton Bulletin, Feb. 11, 1919; *Edmonton Bulletin*.

complete a four-month course to obtain a regular certificate.¹ Some of these measures were short-lived, as experience showed a decline in the quality of teaching. The depression following the Great War together with these measures soon made the supply equal the demand, and regulations were made more stringent. It was never found necessary to lower the entrance requirements again. The last Minister of Education of the Liberal Administration, the Honorable G. P. Smith, was so optimistic in this regard that he sponsored an amendment to the School Act establishing the "Alberta Teachers' College." Apparently it was to be connected with the University but was to remain under the authority of the Department of Education.² Many years were to pass before any steps were taken in the fulfilment of this clause, but it shows us the direction of the planning. Few changes have been made in our Normal School training since this period.

In 1906 the number of employed teachers was 924 with an average salary of a little more than six hundred dollars. The opportunities for advancement were almost negligible, offering very little incentive to any teacher to choose teaching as a permanent vocation. Even this modest estimate of the average annual salary is misleading when we consider that most schools were merely summer schools in which employment was possible for only six months a year. With such conditions prevalent it was impossible to hope for any permanence in the teaching profession. With the feverish activity in school organization, the Department of Education advertised for teachers in all the other provinces and in the British Isles. Some of those who came taught school until other opportunities offered themselves. Some taught

1. Report of Department of Education, 1921; Calgary Normal School.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, March 18, 1920.

only while they fulfilled their residence obligations on their homesteads. Of necessity the Department was forced to depend on the "permit" teacher who only obtained permission to teach for a certain stated period. As late as 1912 one inspector reported that forty-six out of a hundred and twenty teachers in his area were teaching on permits.¹ Furthermore pioneer conditions did not permit women to enter the teaching profession in large numbers.

Gradually the picture changed. Efforts were continued to make attendance more regular. Trustees were encouraged to keep their schools open during the whole year. It was a difficult thing to break a settled habit of the people, and many reasons were advanced for closing schools until compulsory legislation was invoked. The severity of the winter season and the lack of winter clothing were the chief reasons advanced. When permanence of employment is mentioned in these reports, we must remember that the retention of a teacher for a whole year was unusual. In cities and towns the situation was much better, and a sign of more settled conditions is noticeable in the organization of the Alberta Educational Association in 1910. Unfortunately the irregularity of employment, together with the demand for increasing enlistment in the army, brought about a reduction in the number of male teachers. Especially was their loss felt in the villages and towns where they had formerly served as principals.

First Attempt to Encourage Teachers

Criticism of teaching conditions became more marked towards the end of the war. As less time had to be spent in organizing new districts, the inspectors had more opportunity to evaluate results. They began to realize that the greatest problem was the retention of the teacher for any extended period. One inspector noted that boarding difficulties increased

1. Report of the Department of Education, 1912; Vermilion Inspectorate.

with the increase of prosperity. In some areas it was almost impossible for teachers to obtain a place to board as farmers considered them too much trouble. In addition, there was amongst factions in the districts continual bickering into which the teacher was certain to be drawn. When we add the short period of employment in many areas and the small salaries to be obtained, it is to be wondered that the people were given any service.¹ Such was the condition at the end of 1918.

In the next few years, beginning with the last year of the war, a new policy of inducement to teachers was inaugurated, of which some details have already been mentioned. The Hon. J. R. Boyle passed an amendment to the School Act making \$840.00 the minimum salary for teachers. Returned soldiers were admitted to the Normal Schools with Grade X standing. They were given loans to complete the course and no fees were charged.² In the same session the formation of two-room schools was stimulated by the payment of a double grant to one of the rooms.³ There was also an increased grant for teachers' residences. To encourage improvement in qualification, larger grants were made to secondary and technical schools.

Nevertheless this policy had certain definite limits. The Hon. G. P. Smith had become Minister of Education about the time that the teachers had organized the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. The minister resented the militant policy of this new organization and refused to give them any representation in deliberations, preferring to deal with the Alberta Educational Association.⁴ The Minister was one of a large body of people during that

1. Report of Chief Inspector; Report of Department of Education, 1919.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, February 11, 1919.

3. Ibid., March 25, 1919.

4. Ibid., February 19, 1921.

period who were opposed to the growing strength of unions. At the same time the industrial unrest everywhere was affecting the teachers. A strike of the Calgary teachers was imminent, and everywhere there were demands for an increase in the minimum wage which had been set by the former minister. Though Mr. Smith was adamant on this point he bowed to the storm by making minor amendments to the School Act to make the teachers' positions more permanent. The cause of teachers' security was vigorously championed by W. M. Davidson, member for Calgary. On his initiative a Board of Conciliation was set up to investigate grievances of both teachers and trustees, but it was only given power to make a report. Mr. Davidson's original proposal would have conferred upon the Board power to compel both teacher and trustee to abide by its decision. On the other hand the minister agreed to make obligatory a standard form of contract between the teachers and trustees throughout the province. This contract had a "continuous" clause which kept the agreement in force from year to year and provided for a schedule of salary increases. It also made compulsory the hearing of a teacher by the Board in case the teacher felt himself unjustly used. He refused to consider a form submitted by the Alberta Teachers' Alliance allowing dismissal for inefficiency and misconduct alone. In this he was supported by most of the Conservative members. On the whole the amendments were good political strategy. To the trustees he could say that there was nothing in the Act to force them to keep a teacher, while he could tell the teachers that only time would show how the amendments would affect them.¹ Time did show, but the Hon. G. P. Smith was no longer Minister of Education to effect any more changes. He was forced to resign with the whole Cabinet on the defeat of the Liberal Administration in 1921.

1. Edmonton Bulletin, April 15, 1921.

School Grants

Between 1905 and 1920 amendments were made in the School Grants to improve the position of rural schools. On the other hand there was a definite decrease in the proportion of the aid given to elementary schools. The ordinary per diem grant was reduced from \$1.20 at the inception of the province to \$1.00 in 1919. A special grant to schools which had been kept open for 160 days during any year was repealed in 1913. However, in 1913 a new grant of 40 cents per day was provided for the first four years after the organization of a district to help the pioneer areas. This was reduced to twenty cents in 1919. The bonus given in 1901 for the employment of a first class teacher was repealed in 1913. A grant of 15 cents depending on an inspector's grading was retained in 1913 but was reduced in 1919. Furthermore this grant was set aside for the purchase of books for the school library. The grant formerly given for a high percentage of attendance was also abolished. The grants to village and town districts went down as low as thirty cents per day, but some improvement was made in 1919 so that no schools received less than 60 cents per day.¹

With respect to other schools little improvement took place in 1913. However each room containing at least six pupils above the eighth grade obtained a grant of forty dollars per term and high school rooms retained the grant of seventy-five dollars per term. A small grant was made to Consolidated Schools for each conveyance employed.

In 1919 we note a definite attempt to encourage secondary schools, consolidated schools and two-room schools. For each vehicle employed in conveyance there was a grant of \$1.50 per day. For a motor vehicle there was an additional grant. Assistance was also given to Consolidated Schools

1. School Grants Act, 1919.

if one room was equipped for community purposes. The upper room in a two-room school obtained double the ordinary grant. To rooms exclusively devoted to high school purposes, there was a grant of \$700 per annum in villages and towns, and \$600 in the cities.

Additional grants were enacted for the advancement of technical education, providing a certain percentage of the salary of the teachers and the cost of the equipment. This grant also varied with town and village districts. In 1920 the grant allowing a certain percentage of the instructor's salary was increased to forty per cent.

Vocational Schools

A study of the changes in the school grants indicates the direction of the interest of the people during this period. Dr. J. C. Miller was appointed Director of Technical Education in 1914 and he issued a report on the state of technical education in the province. He mentioned Normal Schools as the first Vocational Schools in the province. The other types existing at this period were Agricultural Schools, Commercial classes and Night Schools. With respect to subjects studied in the schools he noted manual training and household science as subjects on the curriculum from the earliest period in the history of the province. To give the teachers the necessary training, Summer Schools had been established. He stated that an Institute of Technology and Art would have to be established to provide for the training of specialists. He recommended reforms in the curriculum of the Normal Schools, though many of the practical arts had already been taught there. Unfortunately the depression in the early years of the war did not allow very much development. Calgary retained its Pre-vocational School and Edmonton its Technical School, but Lethbridge abandoned its attempt. Camrose was the only point outside the two cities which was still experimenting.

Eight classes remained very popular, justifying the grant of fifty percent of the teacher's salary paid by the government.

The building of the Institute of Technology and Art grew out of the demand of the city of Calgary for a University. A denominational school called Calgary College demanded the right to grant degrees in 1915. The report of a Commission appointed in the same year to study the proposal was unfavorable.¹ Instead this body recommended the establishment of the Institute of Technology and Art. This was organized in 1916 with temporary quarters in East Calgary. In 1917 the Minister of Education, the Hon. J. R. Boyle stated that the organization had been brought to a point where immediate educational assistance could be given to returned soldiers. This work was discontinued in 1920. In the meantime the greater interest manifested in technical education forced the government to provide additional accomodation for the students, and the present Institute of Technology, associated for many years with the Calgary Normal School, was completed in 1922.

Consolidated Schools

The interest in consolidated schools was revived in a debate in the Legislature in 1912.² The next year legislation was passed to allow their organization. The grant for conveyance, however, was too small to offer very much inducement. Improvement in crop returns revived this interest in the later years of the war, the number of such schools organized in 1917 being forty-two.³ The departmental officials encouraged the organization not only because it offered greater opportunities to the pupils, but also with the hope that it might give impetus to an adult community movement and that

1. Edmonton Journal, March 24, 1915.

2. Edmonton Bulletin, January 31, 1912.

3. Reports of the Department of Education, 1917 and 1918.

thereby country life might be made more attractive to the children and thus prevent the exodus to cities. On the other hand, the officials were instructed to make plain the increased expenditure necessary for this type of school so that districts might not venture into this field blindly. The peak of the movement was reached in 1918 with the majority of schools organized in southern Alberta. The schools generally were of two types; some were organized to give an opportunity to offer high school work in the country; others merely united schools with insufficient numbers of children. The advantages were evident in all districts, but owing to the depression in the years succeeding the war their high cost made them unpopular. Their importance decreased with the growing interest in the organization of larger units of administration. In the north, with its more thickly-settled population, two-room schools were the order of the day.

Secondary Schools

The secondary schools during this period differed little from those in existence in 1935. There were one-room village schools in which Grades IX, X, and XI were taught, where the teacher could do little more than to supervise work done by the students. Then there were larger schools where Grade XII was taught in addition to the others with two or three teachers in charge. The last type was the urban school with specialists at the head of every department.¹ Prior to the increase of the grant in 1919, the cost of such a school to the district was very great. The result was that teachers' qualifications were very low and a minimum was spent on laboratory equipment. The villages found such a school difficult to finance, especially as no financial aid was forthcoming from the rural areas. It

1. Report of the Department of Education, 1915.

was the rapid increase in the high school population at the end of the war. which forced the Government to increase the grants, but for many years it was a problem to provide sufficient accomodation for the increasing enrolment. No curricular changes of any value were made to suit the growing needs of the new type of student. Junior High School organization was begun in the cities to provide a transition from the elementary to the high school.² This was the only concession made to those growing needs.

Attendance

A number of changes were made in the School Act of 1913 which enabled the Department of Education to keep a closer check on attendance. On the one hand, the amendments placed a check on the indiscriminate closing of schools; on the other hand, regulations were tightened to enforce attendance. Heretofore, school boards had not been obliged to operate their school for more than one hundred and twenty days unless there were at least twenty children between the ages of seven and fourteen resident within the district; nor was the board obliged to operate the school unless there were ten resident children of school age.¹ Now no board of trustees had the authority to close the school for any cause whatever without the approval of the Minister. The department was to be notified immediately of the closing of any school for any cause other than statutory holidays. The department was thus to be kept informed continually instead of being forced to wait until the completion of the term return. The School Ordinance of 1901 had provided compulsory education which could not be enforced because of the above weakness. Cities and towns were now compelled to have truant officers, while the enforcement of the law in rural areas remained in the

1. The School Ordinance, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1901.

hands of the Department. In the Department the organization of this service consisted of the chief truant officer, the inspectors, who were the provincial truancy officers, and the teachers.¹ It was the duty of the chief officer to investigate the non-attendance of children reported by the teachers. If conditions warranted and the parents neglected a warning sent to them the inspectors were instructed to prosecute. Mr. M. M. O'Brien, who died in 1943 while still in the employ of the Department of Education, was appointed Chief Truant Officer and remained in that position until 1916. In this year the Truancy Act was repealed to give place to the School Attendance Act and the Inspectors became Provincial Attendance Officers.⁷ In 1918 attendance was made compulsory for all children under the age of fifteen whether the child had completed grade 8 or not. Under the old act there was no compulsion beyond grade 8. The act was also amended to allow inspectors to institute proceedings before a justice of the peace should a warning not be heeded within a certain definite limit. In 1925 the age of compulsory attendance was raised from fourteen to fifteen. Provision was made, however, to exempt a child of this age if he was in some useful occupation. The strict enforcement of the School Attendance Act was one of the most important duties of inspectors during this period. Almost every inspector's report mentioned his difficulties with enforcement. It was one thing to pass an act but another to compel people to observe it. Nevertheless, with the disappearance of pioneer conditions, difficulties with attendance gradually ceased except in a few isolated cases. Generally people learned they had to send a child to school unless clothing were lacking. Because of the latter trouble, irregularity of attendance recurred when unemployment grew and the price of farm produce was low.

1. Report of the Department of Education, 1913.

Inspectors

The ears and eyes of the Department of Education were the inspectors, just as they are today. In 1906 there were only six inspectors. Owing to the difficulties of transportation and communication the number grew to forty in 1919. The Chief Inspector described their main duties as having to do with the organization and operation of schools. During the period there were continual complaints about the lack of time to give effective supervision. Travelling from school to school by horse and buggy, compulsory attendance and other duties took so much of their time that supervision was impossible. For this reason provision was made for the appointment of ten additional inspectors in 1919.¹ Unfortunately, even this was unsatisfactory. The Chief Inspector began to realize how ineffective the system was.² To him proper supervision could only be possible with large administrative units, since the responsibility for supervision should lie with the local administrative body rather than the Department. Of the ten additional inspectors appointed, two were assigned to the high schools, while the rest looked after the elementary schools, including those in the cities. As we shall see this was only a temporary measure. As inspection became easier because of the improvement of roads and better training of teachers, and when it was acknowledged in the Departmental reports that supervision had not gained by the change, the new government found the inspectorial service a very convenient place to economize. The end of this period found a greater number of inspectors in the employ of the Department of Education than at any succeeding period until the inauguration of the larger administrative unit.

School Libraries

The school library system established in this province was better in many respects than that of any other province. From the beginning free

1. Edmonton Bulletin, March 25, 1919.

2. Reports of the Department of Education, 1914 and 1921.

Readers were issued. Premier Rutherford, who was also Minister of Education, introduced a measure to enable the government to do this in 1908. The Readers were prepared through the co-operation of the three western provinces. Another bill gave power to the Minister of Education to make a contract for the supplying of text and reference books to the pupils as well as globes and charts and other necessities.¹ In 1913 the special grant of fifteen cents per day based on the grading given by the inspector was set aside for the purchase of books for the school library. Because of the difficulties of the trustees in ordering books, the Legislature changed the Act in the second session of 1913, authorizing the Department to supply books in lieu of the special library grant. From that time on the Library Branch carried a heavy stock of books. In 1916 two thousand and seventy-three schools received consignments of books instead of the grant. From the standpoint of children's literature there was a big loss when the policy was abandoned after the resignation of the Liberal Administration, but the greatest loss was suffered in adult education since the Library Branch was beginning to supply books for both juvenile and adult reading.

Conclusion

This is the picture of conditions in Alberta schools during the period from the beginning of the Great War to the end of the war boom. The progressive legislation was an attempt to raise the quality of the work as far as possible through the medium of larger grants. In the province there was a general lack of interest in education. The trustees were incompetent and the teachers inexperienced. Even when these defects were removed the lack of interest resulted in insufficient funds, even in wealthy districts.

1. Edmonton Bulletin, January 1, 1908.

A good deal of the inefficiency might have been overcome through better supervision, but the roads and lack of organization made this impossible for a long time. Teachers changed schools frequently without very much opportunity for inspection. As a result it was impossible to weed out misfits. Many sent out by the Normal Schools were too youthful to take their duties seriously. During the war, too, many of the districts were depopulated due to enlistment, with a further financial impoverishment of the taxable area. This also lowered the calibre of trustees in the pioneer settlements. Laxity in financial planning and ⁱⁿ collection of taxes was a common occurrence. In addition, lack of supervision resulted very often in dishonest pilfering of the school treasury by the secretary-treasurer or the trustees. It was this condition that departmental officials attempted to improve. It is no wonder they groped everywhere trying one thing and another, from consolidation to longer normal school terms and an increased number of inspectors. And, in the main, they built better than they knew. As yet there was no quickened interest among the teachers to help them. When it did come suddenly as the result of men returning from the war with new ideas, it is no wonder that the official world was dazed by the suddenness of the change. However, that strife came in the next period. In the meantime the Alberta School system had developed about as far as was possible under the conditions prevailing at that time.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TEACHER AS A PROBLEM IN ADMINISTRATION

Reasons for the Coming Struggle

The status of the teacher eventually stood forth, in Alberta as elsewhere, as the chief determinant of future educational progress. The reports of inspectors and officials showed that attendance had increased, grants had extended the school year, but the results were still disappointing. With teachers changing continually, with younger teachers in endless procession underbidding and crowding out those who were experienced, our school system was not giving the results that the expenditure warranted. With this realization on the part of the officials there was a growing consciousness of the teacher's importance on the part of the teachers themselves. This led to the formation of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. Unfortunately the reforms did not come as quickly as some had anticipated. While the officials had given protection to teachers in the past¹ they were unwilling to raise the status of the teacher on the demands of an aggressive association of teachers. An organization of teachers was a new and unknown factor in education, arousing fear and suspicion. In the struggle which followed the imperative need for the improvement of teacher status was forgotten. Legislative enactment in that direction was violently opposed by the school boards of the province. The minister, caught squarely between the youthful combativeness of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance and the intransigence of the employing Boards was continually on the defensive and had to maintain the poise of his Department by frequent changes of front.

1. The School Ordinance, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1901.

Only when security of tenure came through the establishment of the large unit of administration was it received with comparative indifference. Having lost control of the small district the people lost interest in any further changes.

Residences and Two-Room Schools

It became evident to the officials of the Department that "the greatest problem was the securing of well-trained and well-equipped teachers".¹ Several reforms would have to be effected before such an objective could be gained. The building of a teacher's residence beside the school, was one such reform. In 1921, however, one inspector reported that a residence was insufficient. He believed living conditions must be improved and the financial reward made more attractive. The teachers' organization went farther and insisted upon a more permanent tenure. This was the reason for the demand for a Board of Reference in 1921.

It was also hoped that the organization of two-room schools would aid in the encouragement of a superior type of teacher, at least in the upper room. Not only was the grant for a second room very generous but there was also an additional grant for secondary work. These schools became especially numerous among "New Canadians"² where additional pressure could be used through the Supervisor of these schools. There was little difficulty in pointing out the advantages of the two-room school to the people. In some cases, when the Equalization Grant was paid, the upper room more than paid for itself. In a few poorer areas in the early depression year 1930, the amount of grant paid was more than the salary of the two teachers. On the

1. Report of the Department of Education, 1921. See report of Chief Inspector.
2. Report of the Department of Education, 1921. See report of F. S. Carr.

whole this second-room grant was the most practical administrative reform undertaken. It enabled the rural people to enjoy some of the blessings of a secondary education and gave an opportunity for the division of work in the elementary section. Furthermore it became customary to give some recognition to a first class teacher by putting him in the upper room. Some of these teachers were married with families, and through their maturity exercised a very important influence amongst teachers in a given area. Fortunately, too, the Supervisor was successful in getting residences at the two-room schools. If Northern Alberta has had any advantage over other parts of the province in the number of children attending secondary schools, the advantage is almost wholly due to the two-room school.

Teacher Training

The temporary lowering of requirements for entrance to Normal School in 1920 was quickly reflected in the quality of the students, so that regulations were stiffened almost immediately. Not only was admission granted only to those who had fully completed Grade XI, but the "passing mark" was raised from 34 to 40.¹ In 1923, the Normal School year was extended to nine months. Normal School loans were granted only in cases where a student could not attend without the loan. In spite of this the enrolment was so large in Calgary that additional space had to be provided. This may have been due to the rumor that the course would be extended to two years, but there is no doubt that the Department's policy of suppressing permits forced those who wished to teach to take their course immediately. Furthermore, many of those who had previously held a third class certificate took the opportunity to attend a short course for the completion of requirements for a second class certificate.²

1. Report of Department of Education, 1922.

2. Report of Department of Education, 1931.

During the later twenties there was again a shortage of teachers. For this reason a Normal School was planned for Edmonton with a building on the University Campus. This was completed in 1930. In the meantime Normal training was given in King Edward School, Edmonton. For the first time, too, in 1929, the School of Education was organized in the University of Alberta to give professional training to graduate students. Dr. Milton La Zerte was placed in control of this phase of the training.

A very important feature was added to the ordinary Normal training. For a long time it had been a weakness of the Normal School Course that little experience could be obtained in the ungraded schools where most students later found their first positions. Now arrangements were made to give each student a week in a rural school with some successful teacher. The economic depression again brought changes. The number applying for admission became so large that further steps had to be taken to limit the numbers. In 1931 the number of admissions was limited to seven hundred. The loan was reduced to a maximum of two hundred and fifty dollars, and preference was given to those who had completed Grade XII.¹ In the next year the loan policy was abolished and the entrance fees were raised to fifty dollars. These were subsequently doubled and a decision was made to close one of the Normal Schools. Because of the financial conditions it was felt that Edmonton would suffer least. Accordingly the government decided to close the Edmonton school.² To everyone it was evident that this could be only a temporary measure as the Edmonton building was the most modern. For the time being, however, it was hoped this would reduce the number of students and consequently

1. Report of the Department of Education, 1922.

2. Report of the Department of Education, 1931.

decrease the number of unemployed teachers. It is noteworthy that none of the fine arguments used at the building of the Camrose Normal School were given for its retention. Tremendous changes had taken place since its inauguration. The automobile and the highway had shattered the picture of an ideal country community, removing the old distinctions between country and city. When it became evident that two training institutions were sufficient to provide the teachers for our schools, there was no question as to which two of the three (Edmonton, Camrose and Calgary) would survive.

Provision for Secondary Education

Secondary education received an impetus during this period. In the earlier years the elementary school had received attention due to the type of settler who came into our province. The older children helped to clear the land while the young received an education in the elementary school. As pioneer conditions began to disappear these children advanced to the upper grades. The high prices due to the war also freed the children from a good deal of the labor at home. The governments encouraged this tendency. At the session of 1922 the U.F.A. Administration voted a grant of fifty cents per day to schools attempting work beyond the eighth grade.¹ As many of the members were farmers, there was a natural desire to make education more accessible to the farm. Already in 1921 the Secondary Consolidated School Act had given authority to two or more school districts to unite for the purpose of organizing a rural high school. This amendment was of little effect because people preferred to follow the simpler plan of earning an increased grant in their own rural school. The first two grades of the high school became so numerous that they were a source of worry to inspectors

1. Report of the Department of Education, 1922.

because they monopolized far too much of the overburdened teacher's time. School trustees were even unwilling to pay a monthly fee of three dollars per child to have their children educated in a town school. The permission granted by the Department of Education in 1922 to write Grade VIII provincial examinations in the local school tended to aggravate the situation still more.¹ The grant to rural schools was lowered but the unit system made it possible for them to carry the high school work partially. As might be expected the work was slipshod and incomplete. The power given to teachers to recommend pupils in Grades IX and X was abused and led to a large number of failures in the next grade. Between 1920 and 1926 the statistics of the Department of Education showed that there was an increase of one hundred and fifty percent in the high school population. There came a very urgent demand for teachers with training for the secondary grades, but the numbers were very limited. Certificated teachers frequently taught grades which were the summit of their own attainment in high school. The inspectors were finally given power to permit secondary school work only under specified favorable conditions, but many realized how difficult it was to refuse that permission. They sighed for the day when large units might rid them of these difficulties. After a period of experiment the grant for secondary work in rural schools was abolished in 1932.

Not only was there incompetence in rural schools, but many of the village schools were also too ambitious. After 1923, for many years, there was only one inspector for the high schools. Occasionally he was aided by one of the other inspectors or by the Supervisor of Schools, Dr. McNally.

1. Report of the Department of Education, 1922.

In 1927 another high school inspector was appointed. In the type of school under their control Grade XII was becoming increasingly popular and was overloading the instructional program just as Grade IX had done in the rural school. Accordingly, certain schools were forbidden to give more than a reasonable number of units in each year. The one-room village school was required to provide for a two-year cycle for Grade XII.

Inspectoral Staff

The duties of the inspectors differed very little from those of the earlier period between 1905 and 1920. Many of their special difficulties have already been mentioned in the last chapter, but one duty of the inspector has been omitted. In many cases it had become necessary to take over and administer the affairs of a school district. In such cases the inspector became an official trustee. In some provinces a particular official was appointed to manage schools of this type, but, with some wisdom, the governments in this province have usually let the inspector handle this duty. The department was unwilling to administer the affairs of any district permanently, realizing that such imposed management fails to develop local pride and produces distrust. For that reason this action was resorted to only after careful investigation, and the expedient was only temporary. The official trusteeships were necessary when prompt action was required, and especially when factional strife hindered any such action. Sometimes both sides agreed to allow the inspector to carry on, when they might be unwilling to trust one another. Sometimes the inspector assumed trusteeship when a district had been depopulated or there were too few residents with the necessary qualifications for school board duties. Most often the difficulties

were financial. A school board often was unwilling or unable to provide the money for the operation of a school.

The dismissal of a large number of inspectors in 1923 made the work more onerous than before, giving still less time to supervision. The average number of districts in 1926 under each inspector was one hundred and thirty-one. In the non-English areas the inspectorate was limited to one hundred schools, thus raising the average number for the other inspectors.¹ These inspectors continued to give effect to educational policy as expressed in the law and regulations. They were expected to advise the minister on adjustments regarded as necessary to meet new and ever-changing conditions. About one-third of the inspector's time was spent in these administrative duties. The most important and more technical part of his work had to do with the supervision and inspection of schools. The latter consisted of supervision of the conduct of schools, organization of the work, application of the course of studies, promotions, and the certification of teachers. The result was that the inspector did not have an opportunity to take the teacher into his confidence on methods to be adopted and objectives to be achieved, and thus establish the cordiality necessary for perfect work. An essential step in this direction was taken in 1925 when the inspector was required to hand one copy of his report to the teacher after each inspection.² Previously only the School Board and the Department of Education had each received one copy. Nevertheless, the annual inspection still seemed to the teacher merely an attempt to discover his weaknesses.³ The only new duty of the inspector

1. Report of the Department of Education, 1926.

2. Report of the Department of Education, 1924.

3. Alberta Teachers' Alliance Magazine, April, 1925.

rose out of the powers conferred upon him with respect to the observance of minimum salary regulations within the contracts. Though this power was short lived, it illustrates the chronic tendency of the Department to delegate power to the inspector with respect to any law or regulation, because the inspector was very closely in touch with the situation in his area.

School Libraries

The School Libraries Branch suffered a blow from which it took a few years to recover. In 1923 an amendment was made to the School Grants Act abolishing the special grant for the purchase of books for the school library in the older established districts, but retaining it for the first six years only after the organization of a school.¹ The situation became especially critical in 1924 when the new curriculum came into force and many schools could not purchase books which had been recommended. This grant is still in effect but other changes gave a new impetus to the healthy development of this branch of the Department of Education. In 1926 a new bill presented to the legislature gave the Minister of Education power to issue and print school books.² In the same year the School Libraries Branch was reorganized and renamed the School Book Branch. Under this name it received the sole right to the wholesale distribution of text-books in this province. Arrangements were made with every publisher to give a monopoly of the sale of authorized texts to the School Book Branch. Library books can still be bought elsewhere. It will be interesting to note the effect of the new curriculum on the further development of this service.

1. Report of the Department of Education, School Libraries Branch, 1924.

2. Edmonton Journal, March 26, 1926.

School Grants

Organization and operation of schools received a set-back in the early twenties. So bad did conditions become that the government was forced to resort to special grants to keep schools open in the north. In the south where settlements were somewhat older, loans were made to help those districts which were unable to keep their schools open as a result of repeated crop failure. Not only were economic conditions bad because of the post war depression, but local difficulties tended to aggravate the situation. While the south was suffering from a prolonged period of drought, the north had very little cleared land, and financial returns were very meagre. As the depression increased still fewer taxes were paid, many returned soldiers under the Soldier Settlement Board having abandoned their farms. To make matters worse, the secretaries of the municipalities neglected the collection of taxes, remaining satisfied with filing a caveat against the land where the taxes were unpaid. In 1923 was set up the system of grants which remained substantially the same through the whole period and continues to the present day. The per diem grant for rural schools was cut from \$1.00 to \$.90. For rooms that contained grades above the eighth the grant was lowered from \$.50 to \$.25 per diem. Newly organized districts obtained \$.20 per diem for only two years. The library grant was limited to schools in the first six years after their organization. Special grants for schools with rooms used for community purposes, for technical education in one-room schools, for gardens and teachers' residences were all struck out. Town schools received a similar cut. Where there were two rooms the grant for the senior room was reduced from \$3.00 to \$2.00 per day. High School and consolidated school grants were reduced by fifty percent.

TABLE II

Summary of School Statistics 1905-1943 ¹

Year	Schools In Operation	Pupils Enrolled	Teachers Employed	Total Grants Paid to Schools
1905	602	-	-	\$ 120,723.61
1906	746	28,784	924	142,836.31
1907	902	34,338	1,210	197,767.89
1908	1,070	39,653	1,468	220,712.12
1909	1,250	46,048	1,815	307,186.13
1910	1,501	55,307	2,217	301,239.31
1911	1,784	61,660	2,651	432,876.52
1912	2,029	71,042	3,054	414,115.73
1913	2,235	79,909	3,298	461,288.56
1914	2,360	89,910	3,978	507,681.95
1915	2,478	97,286	4,218	540,235.08
1916	2,598	99,210	4,607	553,141.44
1917	2,773	107,727	5,133	987,169.66
1918	2,964	111,029	5,652	625,829.54
1919	3,106	121,567	4,902	713,032.92
1920	3,215	135,750	5,014	885,523.94
1921--22	3,367	142,802	5,787	1,146,721.95
1922--23	3,388	148,045	5,669	1,241,518.32
1923--24	3,409	147,373	5,727	1,117,023.20
1924--25	3,431	147,796	4,864	1,054,732.93
1925--26	3,463	150,526	5,135	1,084,878.75
1926--27	3,515	154,380	5,380	1,137,637.58
1927--28	3,571	159,086	5,815	1,218,572.62
1928--29	3,640	164,850	5,827	1,321,158.03
1929--30	3,720	168,076	5,705	1,355,962.95
1930--31	3,755	168,730	5,844	1,593,995.15
1931--32	3,788	170,795	5,760	1,511,776.29
1932--33	3,734	171,445	6,050	1,675,229.46
1933--34	3,766	172,030	5,912	1,587,798.87
1934--35	3,812	167,954	5,911	1,444,704.57
1935--36	3,859	167,193	6,001	1,432,084.66
1936--37	3,926	167,950	6,130	1,390,237.57
1937--38	3,978	166,664	6,173	1,527,056.40
1938--39	3,992	163,241	6,176	1,635,503.44
1939--40	4,008	162,352	6,290	1,809,392.43
1940--41	4,005	163,425	6,388	1,870,412.66
1941--42	4,001	161,209	6,336	1,916,012.65
1942--43	4,008	157,506	6,490	

1. Reports of the Department of Education, 1905--1942.

The general tendency from 1920 to 1935 was towards a reduction of grants. On the other hand a very outstanding development took place in 1926 when the Equalization Grant was instituted to aid schools whose assessment was below \$75,000. Schools with an assessment below \$10,000 received \$2.80 per day. Those with assessment between \$70,000 and \$75,000 received twenty cents per day. Schools with assessments between \$10,000 and \$70,000 received amounts between \$2.80 and \$.20 in proportion to their assessments. This scheme benefited over four hundred schools in the first year. The number of schools operating at least one hundred and sixty days increased from seventy-five percent in 1926 to ninety percent in 1927. By 1930 "summer schools" could only be found in the Peace River area. Not only was this grant a boon to poor pioneering areas but it helped in another way. Instead of wasting valuable time discovering what the actual needs of each district were before recommending a special grant, the inspector could spend more time in the supervision of actual teaching. There is no doubt that this was the only palliative to a very difficult situation, for without this aid hundreds of schools would have remained closed in the depression after 1930.

The other changes were not important. In 1933 school grants were paid for only one hundred and eighty days of operation due to the financial difficulties of the government. In the meantime there existed an anomaly in the grant system which had to be rectified. Due to the special grants and the Equalization Grant some two-room school districts contributed very little money to the school budget. As the depression became more severe some of these areas became so active in the game of cutting teachers' salaries that they received grants in excess of their salary expenditures. In 1934 the maximum amount of grant paid to any school was fixed at five hundred dollars.

Furthermore the amendment stated that in no case was the grant to exceed seventy-five percent of the teacher's salary. This was a return to a principle in effect in the North-West School Ordinance. This system of grants remains in effect to the present day except that the two-hundred-day year has been fully restored.

As the depression deepened towards the end of our period bank loans to individual districts failed to meet the situation. Various temporary means were utilized. In some districts people carried on a campaign to obtain at least a portion of the taxes. Drastic salary reductions were made. Requisitions for libraries and supplies were cut down. In new areas log buildings were built by co-operative effort. In the extreme north teachers accepted as salary the labor of homesteaders on their own homesteads. In other parts teachers boarded from house to house, the amount owing for board being applied to a ratepayer's tax account. To save the financial situation from collapse, the government passed the Tax and Rates Collection Act in 1931 making the municipality the collecting agency instead of the school district. Through its control over a larger area the municipality could borrow money from banks more easily and thus provide at least a part of the amount necessary for operating the schools. To encourage additional payments of taxes, the Tax Consolidation Act was passed making it easier for each ratepayer to pay at least a portion of his arrears annually. By these almost heroic efforts, the people of the province were able to keep their school system intact through the worst period of their history.

The Problem of Examinations

The examination system underwent a number of changes. In 1920, in keeping with the new consciousness on the part of the teachers, there came a wide demand for the abolition of at least part of the examination system.

A system of promotions was established based on the student's work during the year in certain specified schools. In schools where six teachers were employed teaching grades eight to eleven, students were promoted from Grade VIII upon the recommendation of the principal or superintendent. Promotions through the same recommendations were allowed from Grade IX to X. In the next grade such a system was only allowed in cases where three teachers were employed exclusively in the high school grades. In 1921 the privilege of writing the Entrance Examination was extended to all schools where Grade VIII students applied to write on that examination. In Grade IX, questions for the examination were provided by the Department of Education but the answers were valued by the teacher. Owing to the criticism of high school teachers, this system was abolished and Departmental examinations were again imposed on these grades with the establishment of the unit system in 1924. This policy remained in effect until 1930 when public opinion underwent another change. In that year the right to promote pupils from Grade VIII to Grade IX was again granted to certain schools. Gradually this was extended to include all the schools. Teachers were also allowed to promote certain pupils in all the first units of every subject and the English units of Grade X. This was the system in effect until the reorganization of the whole curriculum in 1935.

Pensions for Teachers

Pensions for teachers stood high among the aims of the teachers' organization in this province. The Alberta Educational Association formed a committee to go into the matter fully in 1917. In reply to a report by this committee in 1918 the Minister of Education, Hon. J. R. Boyle, dealt with pensions in his address. He declared he was not ready to accept the scheme of the Alberta Education Association committee but he was quite prepared

to go ahead with a pension or superannuation scheme. By a vote of the Alberta Educational Association at this convention the matter of pensions was handed over to the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. Through its system of "locals" the Alberta Teachers' Alliance referred to the teachers the whole problem of pensions for close and systematic study. In the meantime the Hon. J. R. Boyle had resigned and his place was taken by the Hon. G. P. Smith who pleaded time for study as he was new to the office. From that time on the matter was brought to the attention of the ministers concerned almost every year. A proposed act was drawn up by the Alberta Teachers' Alliance to be presented before the legislature. Finally, as no action was taken, Mr. Hector Lang of Medicine Hat moved a resolution that a fund be established, pending a general pension scheme, to take care of those teachers who were unable or unfit to work. On the reply of the Minister of Education that a few teachers could be dealt with without changing the existing legislation, Mr. Lang withdrew the original motion and substituted one which gave the Department the right to investigate certain cases and deal with them as the officials saw fit.¹

In 1930 Mr. Hector Lang re-introduced his legislation, but it was doomed to defeat. It was a matter of encouragement to the teachers, however, that the government did not altogether frown on the scheme. Some members of the cabinet showed that they had given some study to the plan but could not accept it as they did not think most of its proposals were actuarially sound. The hopes raised were unfortunately doomed to disappointment as the depression increased. The teachers had to wait for another turn of the economic wheel of fortune. Especially were they disappointed as most of the other provinces had already adopted some pension scheme.²

1. Edmonton Journal, March 7th and 15th, 1929.

2. Alberta Teachers' Alliance Magazine, April, 1925.

Teachers' Contracts

Teachers' contracts were a subject of much debate on the floor of the House and at Teachers' and Trustees' Conventions. The aim of the teachers was to establish as great security of tenure as was possible except in cases of gross negligence or misconduct. On the other hand, the rural trustee wished to be untrammelled in "hiring and firing" the teacher. This was the field of struggle for almost twenty years. While it seemed a struggle between two organizations it was in fact a struggle between two philosophies. It was a struggle between the philosophy of the owner of the land, to whom only property seems permanent, and the philosophy of the laborer, who desires permanence in his vocation. The struggle has been re-enacted many times since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. What embittered the fight and confused the ideological issues was that in our province we had to pass through all the stages of economic development in a single generation. Furthermore the position of a pioneer farmer or a pioneer laborer in this country had never been very rosy. While harsh experience probably made some people more tolerant, it only strengthened rebellion in others. Taxation has never been popular. What then was more natural than irritation at the teacher who was a living symbol of taxation in the community?

In the period towards the end of the First World War there was, as previously mentioned, a growth of professional consciousness amongst the teachers. To implement a more aggressive policy on such matters as pensions, contracts and tenure a new organization, the Alberta Teachers Alliance, was formed with Mr. J. W. Barnett as General Secretary. The older Alberta Educational Association continued its existence but the newer "A.T.A." as it was called, gradually absorbed all the important functions of a teachers' organization until the two were finally amalgamated. The

A.T.A. vigorously denounced the inequality of teaching as compared with other professions and set before itself the difficult task of raising the status of the profession. In this attempt it aroused the vehement opposition of school boards and very often the hostility of members of the Legislature and even the governments in power. Especially was the antagonism violent towards Mr. Barnett whose task it was to keep the demands of the organization before the public. Though the immediate results of the struggle were very disheartening, the conflict was an advantage reaching beyond the temporary victories or defeats. In organizing itself for the contest the teaching body trained leaders whose influence extended far beyond its confines.

The A.T.A. first demanded protection for teachers in the prescribed form of agreement. As the result of negotiations the Minister of Education, the Hon. G. P. Smith, with the consent of both teachers' and trustees' organizations amended the agreement form to provide for two principles:

- (a) Continuity of service;
- (b) A meeting or hearing for the teacher when dismissal was pending.

Clause (3) provided that the agreement should be in force from year to year unless it was terminated in a specified manner. Clause (5) provided the manner of termination. Within five days after receipt of a thirty-day notice the teacher could request an opportunity to discuss the termination and answer charges at a meeting with the Board. After such an application the notice did not become effective until the holding of such a meeting. Ten days' notice was to be given the teacher of the holding of such a meeting, and the teacher could attend it with some ratepayer or member of his immediate family. At the conclusion of such a meeting the Board could either confirm or rescind its previous action. In the former event, the notice became effective thirty days after the teacher had been notified in writing of such

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confirmation.¹

Subsequent to this the Alliance concentrated on two aims. In the first place, the teachers desired that the hearing should be held prior to the notice for the termination of the agreement since many boards were reluctant about going back on a decision they had made. In the second place, the Alliance felt that the board should be required to establish valid reasons for such dismissal. In 1922 the Hon. Perren Baker reversed the proceeding in Clause (5) by providing that a "hearing" should precede notice of termination of agreement.² He did not favor the second recommendation which suggested an appeal to the Minister for dismissal without cause shown during the term, but which allowed all dismissals at the end of the year.³ The Alliance also urged that a teacher be represented by some agent at the meeting but the Minister demurred, stressing the unpreparedness of rural school boards for perfect legal procedure, in which they would have to be well-versed when confronted by such an agent at their meeting. This was in effect the objection of the Executive of the Alberta Teachers' Association when they met in conference with the Minister and the Executive of the Alliance.⁴ In accordance with the wishes of the Alliance in this matter the form of contract was changed to provide the meeting between teacher and trustees prior to the issuance of the notice to terminate the agreement. Unfortunately only two clear days were allowed for that meeting between teacher and trustees. There was an immediate protest from the

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1. Form of Agreement up to February, 1923, Department of Education.
 2. Form of Agreement, 1925; Department of Education.
 3. A.T.A. Magazine, January and February, 1920.
 4. Files in Possession of the A.T.A., March 5, 1921.

executive of the A.T.A. supported by resolutions from its Annual General Meeting. The teachers pointed out that the Minister had proposed an appeal to him on the part of the aggrieved party and that they had accepted his suggestion.¹ They declared that he had not implemented any of his promises and had deprived the teacher of even the meagre rights that belonged to him under the old agreement. There was no provision for any agent to represent the teacher. This form remained in existence until 1926 when the clause was amended to provide for five day's notice of meeting instead of two.²

In the meantime this clause, which had become Clause 6 in the new form of agreement, was a source of great protection to the teachers and one of great irritation to the school boards of the province. They had not manifested such enthusiasm on its adoption and its retention had made some of the trustees' conventions very acrimonious towards the Minister. Many boards attempted to avoid the provision by sending out a notice of the meeting when the teacher had left for midsummer vacations. In the Hunt vs. Brant case the Supreme Court ruled that this clause must be strictly observed. Some school boards adopted the method of making the agreement valid for only one year by scoring out the continuous provision. Influenced by the animosity of the trustees, especially after the cool reception by them of his proposed large areas, the Minister gave notice that Clause 6 would be deleted leaving a straight thirty-day notice. Instead he proposed and in 1931 directed through the legislature an amendment to the School Act forbidding dismissal by the trustees or resignation of the teacher during the instructional year without the approval of the inspector. Notices to terminate the agreements could only be given in the month of June by the school board. The teacher was

1. A.T.A. Magazine, January and July, 1923.

2. There were no amendments to the School Act. The School Act gives the right to the Minister to authorize the form of agreement.

permitted to resign only in the months of June and July. None of these amendments affected the right of the boards to inflict summary dismissal for gross misconduct, neglect of duty, or neglect to obey a lawful order of the board; in which case the teacher had the right to appeal to the Minister. Clause 6 was never restored as the field of struggle shifted to another demand of the teachers which had gained force through the years. This clause had only been an expedient to enforce some stability of tenure.

Board of Reference

The Hon. G. P. Smith, the last Minister of Education under the Liberal regime, had been persuaded to amend the School Act in 1921 giving the Minister power to appoint a Board of Conciliation "to inquire into and investigate any such disagreement or dispute, and to make such report thereon as is just and reasonable....." This Board had the power to investigate any disagreement or dispute which related to the proper carrying out of a contract. This section was further amended by the Hon. Perren Baker in 1926. The purpose of the amendment was to clarify the powers of such a body as it had not functioned in any way hitherto. It gave the power to the Minister to set up a Board of Conciliation or Arbitration. When any dispute arose either party had the right to refer the case to the Minister who appointed a Board of Reference. When this body acted on the application of one side it was known as a Board of Conciliation. When the application came from both sides it became a Board of Arbitration. The amendment further stated:

"The Board shall institute such investigations as may seem to be warranted or necessary, and shall deliver a report of its findings to the Minister".¹

1. Edmonton Journal, April 2, 1927.

Unfortunately this Board did not function well. Though numerous cases were reported the findings of the Board had little influence on the parties concerned. Judge Taylor, Chairman of the Board, complained that its chief weakness was its lack of enforcement power. On the other hand, he believed that the institution of the large school area would help.¹ Another weakness was that school boards were not prevented from hiring another teacher during the period between the application and the delivery of the findings of the Board of Reference.

During this period while the whole question of teacher tenure was in dispute, representatives of the Alberta School Trustees' Association and the Alberta Teachers' Alliance met under the chairmanship of Dr. J. T. Ross, the Deputy Minister of Education. One such meeting was held in 1931 and another in February, 1932. At the last meeting the representatives agreed that enforcement powers be granted to the Board of Reference. This amendment the Minister finally introduced at the suggestion of Premier J. E. Brownlee, but it was conceded that its proclamation would be postponed until the general feeling of trustees was known. The Hon. Perren Baker contended that the representatives of the trustees had not the power to make any such agreement without submitting the scheme to the Alberta School Trustees' Convention. The amendment was never proclaimed owing to the hostility of the trustees. The Alliance charged, with some reason, that the Minister used his influence to sway the opinion of the trustees. Some of the Executive of the Trustees' Association said that the Minister had attempted to change their opinion in this regard. He had also intervened at the convention and declared himself against it. Nevertheless, due to the demand of the Labor

1. Edmonton Journal, Report before the Agricultural Committee, March 13, 1929.

Group which was friendly to the government, and the resolute support of many of the U.F.A. members, the Minister gave way and the Board of Reference was established by an amendment in the School Act, 1934. The Board of Reference obtained the right to reverse a decision of the boards of trustees if the trustees, in dismissing the teacher, had not acted as "reasonable persons". The rest of the amendment went on to enumerate cases in which the Board of Trustees might be deemed to act as reasonable persons.

The triumph of the teachers was short lived. There was a tremendous agitation against the measure. Just as the Minister had objected, such a Board of Reference had great difficulty in dealing with trustees in small units. In 1935 the pressure on the members of the legislature became so great that many of them gave way to the delegation of trustees which spent some days in the House lobby. As this was election year it was difficult for many to maintain the proper perspective with respect to this important question. In addition, a large number of the members did not need much persuasion when it came to a dispute between teachers and trustees. As a result an amendment was introduced by W. C. Smith, U.F.A., abolishing the Board of Reference. Never were the hopes of the teachers at a lower ebb than after this session. Privileges had been lost which they had held since 1921. On the other hand, a good deal of glee was shown by the local boards of trustees who could dismiss a teacher without any hindrance. It was probably best that it should be so. The state of education made it imperative that a new government deal with the matter immediately and effectively. What the future held in store was little realized by the rank and file of people in the provinces. The political revolution which came in that year changed the whole emphasis of people's interests. The school question was not neglected.

In 1937 the Legislature proceeded to restore the Board of Reference. The occasion was the introduction of the Teachers' Tenure Bill by the member for Whitford, Mr. William Tomyn. His original measure would have permitted the dismissal of a teacher only on the vote of a majority of the ratepayers. The bill was referred to the Agricultural Committee. Owing to the opposition to the proposed measure, an amendment was moved by another member, Mr. J. Hooke, restoring the Board of Reference. Under the regulations a teacher was to be permitted to appeal to the Board of Reference upon making a deposit of twenty-five dollars. A large number of the other proposals were withdrawn but restrictions were retained on contracts. Term contracts were forbidden, and notice of dismissal was to be given by June twentieth. Thus passed the last measure for which the teachers had agitated for years.¹

Professional Status

During the last year of the U.F.A. administration, in 1935, a determined attempt was made by the Alberta Teachers' Alliance to win professional status for the teachers of this province. The Teachers' Society Bill, as introduced by Mr. C. A. Ronning, member for Camrose, would have made the holding of a teacher's position in Alberta dependent on membership in the Alberta Teachers' Association. It contained proposals for wide disciplinary powers over the members of the teaching body. It also empowered the trustees to retain the membership dues of each teacher. To ensure collection the Department of Education was to deduct the amount from the grant owing to each school district. The act was modelled after a similar measure passed by the Saskatchewan Legislature. In introducing the bill Mr. Ronning claimed that it would release the teachers from the annual

1. Edmonton Journal, April 14, 1937 - A.T.A. Magazine, April, 1937.

drudgery of canvassing membership and enable them to pursue the aims and objects for which the Alberta Teachers' Association stood. In spite of strong support from the opposition, chiefly from the labor benches, the measure was passed in a vastly different form from what was originally intended. It was opposed by Hon. Perren Baker, who believed that the act would increase the friction between teachers and trustees. The Alberta School Trustees' Association already had a delegation protesting against the measure. As a result the bill was passed only after the compulsory features had been deleted.

After the defeat of the U.F.A. Government amendments were passed to include the compulsory features in spite of the renewed opposition of the trustees, who protested that its acceptance would leave every school board at the mercy of a "union."¹ This was in 1936. The act has bestowed certain benefits upon the organized teachers. It is no longer necessary to waste the resources of the body in mere organization, and much of the revenue of the A.T.A. has been devoted to research. Already the Alberta Teachers' Association has been able to finance investigations in various fields of which the most important is that of Vocational Training. The results of this work by Mr. F. Tyler, B.Ed. have been compiled into a book entitled "Choosing Your Life Work". This is only the beginning of a large field of enterprise which the teachers entered when they were freed from the necessity of reorganizing annually, with the expenditure of time and energy that this demanded. With the introduction of the large units, professional status has also made co-operation with the trustees easier. On the other hand it also placed certain obligations on the teachers themselves. In becoming a profession they were

1. Edmonton Journal, February 14, 1939.

forced to undertake the task of disciplining members, a duty hitherto performed by the Department of Education.

CHAPTER LX

THE LARGER UNIT OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

At the time of writing, practically all the settled rural portions of Alberta are organized for administrative and supervisory purposes into fifty-one divisional areas. Only five percent of rural schools still lie outside the divisional boundaries, and these are for the most part isolated schools not conveniently located. The story of the struggle for the larger unit may be briefly told.

At the 1925 session of the Provincial Legislature the Hon. Ferren Baker proposed a levy of three mills on the assessable value of all land¹ within the province lying outside urban areas. The estimated revenue of \$1,600,000 was to be used to increase the grant to each school district by \$500.00, a sum considerably in excess of half of the average annual expenditure per district.

The proposal received fairly general support in the House in its first and second reading, but the school trustees in convention did not hesitate to manifest their decided coolness, not to say hostility. The proposal was dropped.

During the following three years a number of suggestions for providing a more solid basis for rural education were considered and rejected. It was noted, for example, that permissive legislation in Manitoba, making it possible for any municipality to establish a municipal school unit, had become operative in only two areas. Obviously legislation must be centrally initiated and must be mandatory.

1. A. T. A. Magazine, November, 1925.

Finally in March 1928,¹ the Minister of Education presented the issues squarely to the Alberta Trustees' Association. He pointed out the many limitations and disadvantages associated with local district administration, and restated the arguments for larger administrative units. In particular he drew a picture of the tremendous inequality of the tax burden from district to district, of the inequality of educational opportunity, of the shortened school terms, of the difficulties in payment of adequate salaries to teachers, of the difficulties of providing adequate secondary education, and in general, of the impasse at which rural education had arrived. In contrast he pointed out the far-reaching advantages of a broader taxation basis, which, he claimed, would give the rural areas a new lease of educational life.

In October, 1928,² the Minister caused to be published a pamphlet entitled "Rural Education in Alberta", outlining the scheme he had in mind. His proposal was to divide the province into twenty units or "Divisions". The chairmen of the Divisional Boards were to form a Central or General Board which was to set a province-wide mill rate for all educational purposes other than the cost of buildings and equipment. The chief powers of the Divisional Boards consisted of the right to appoint, place, and dismiss teachers within the Division. Each Division was to have approximately one hundred and fifty schools, and the Divisional Superintendents were to be appointed by the Department of Education.

Violent criticism emanated from two sources, from school trustees throughout the province, and from opposition members in the House.¹ The usual cries of centralization, autocracy, confiscation, and injustice were heard. The Minister courageously fought for his proposal, and fought almost

1. Edmonton Bulletin, March 14, 1930.

alone. Even his colleagues were scarcely luke-warm to it. The bill went through a second reading but was dropped.

In 1930 a new bill was introduced.¹ In the interval the problem and suggested remedial measures were widely discussed. Several helpful suggestions were received from the Alberta Teachers' Alliance. The new bill omitted reference to the General Board proposal and to the Province-wide scheme of taxation, the essential issues remaining centered about the creation of divisions, the setting up of divisional boards, and the appointment of superintendents and supervisors. Moreover, the legislation was not to be mandatory. A vote was to be taken in any area before a division could be created. In spite of all these concessions, the bill was rejected. It remained for a new administration to give form and substance to Mr. Baker's dream.

Some tentative steps forward were, however, made by the U.F.A. government. In 1930 the Tax and Rate Collection Amendment Act was passed.¹ This act constituted the municipal councils the collectors of school taxes throughout the municipality. The moneys so collected from each component school district were then placed at the disposal of the said district, the chief merit of the arrangement being that the councils were more efficient collecting agencies than the local boards had been. The act no doubt made possible the operation of many schools which would otherwise have had to be closed between 1930 and 1935.

Of many names which might be mentioned in connection with educational reform the most outstanding was that of Charles Lionel Gibbs, a teacher

1. Edmonton Bulletin, March 14, 1930.

member for Edmonton. Fearless in criticism, a master of irony, and probably the most able debater in the House with the exception of Premier Brownlee, he was ever on the defense for teachers and education. Had he lived, not only would he have held an important place in education, but no doubt would also have been an important factor in the political future of this province. The reform of the Board of Reference was his especial cause from year to year. In the large school unit controversy his voice was always on the side of reason. He made mistakes, but they were those of a great man. Being honest and fearless himself, he could not understand subterfuge and evasion in others, and woe betide the member or minister whom he suspected of such weakness. There was plenty of opportunity for criticism. In the opinion of many the three years' strife over the large unit had embittered and exhausted the minister. They charged that his refusal to attempt any amelioration in the status of the teacher was due to this cause.

In spite of earlier animosities Mr. Gibbs' espousal of a cause dear to the Minister drew the two men together. The plan and scope of the investigation of the Committee which was formed in 1934 was the result of their co-operation.

In 1934 a resolution was moved by Mr. Gibbs as follows:

"Whereas there is general agreement in the assembly and throughout the country that the difficulties of all kinds confronting the rural districts in maintaining an efficient educational system are very serious; and

"Whereas there is a definite social obligation, also generally recognized, to see that all the children of Alberta are properly educated physically and mentally;

"Therefore be it resolved that a committee of this Assembly be appointed to make a comprehensive survey and study of education in rural districts and report their findings and suggestions at the next session of the Legislature."

In moving his resolution Mr. Gibbs stressed that such a committee would be of value in making public much information which had been compiled by the Minister and others in close touch with education.¹ He was ably supported by Mr. Chester Ronning of Camrose, another teacher member, and a bill embodying the resolution was passed.

The Executive Council² appointed a committee of ten members of the Legislature with the Hon. Perran Baker as chairman. The other members were Messrs. Hector Lang, W. M. Payne, J. Mackintosh, C. L. Gibbs, O. B. Walker, A. G. Andrews, C. A. Ronning, I. Goresky and R. M. McCool.

Mr. A. L. Smeaton was appointed later to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. C. L. Gibbs.

As an approach to its task the Committee called upon all organizations interested in education to submit briefs of their viewpoints. Individuals also who had spent their lives in the educational field were summoned to give evidence. Incidentally it must be mentioned that a great deal of credit for the success of the Committee's work goes to the late Mr. G. W. Gorman, Deputy Minister of Education, who acted as secretary to the Committee. Upon the basis of submissions received, the members of the Legislative Committee made a number of recommendations dealing with the rural schools. The point of greatest interest is that most of the recommendations were contingent upon the establishment of a larger administrative area. It was but logical that the final recommendation should propose the establishment of the larger unit. Nevertheless, it was pointed out that a considerable measure of public support would be necessary to the successful introduction of some of the proposed reforms.³ At the same time,

1. Edmonton Journal, March 21, 1934.

2. Report of the Legislative Committee on Rural Education, 1935.

3. Report of the Legislative Committee on Rural Education, 1935, p. 26.

as proof of the possible success of the experiment, an account was included in the report of two large areas already established, viz., Turner Valley and Berry Creek.

In the Turner Valley area the experiment had been forced on the authorities because of the tremendous oil development in the region. The small school districts had been totally inadequate to cope with the rapid increase of the population. Owing to the greater efficiency of the large unit in assessing property and collecting taxes, the farmers in this area paid taxes which were actually less than in the last year of the smaller school districts. Furthermore, the unit could boast of better buildings and equipment and the institution of medical treatment for the children. Though this experiment took place under the administration of an official trustee, there was evident satisfaction at the results.

The Berry Creek experiment had been undertaken in the depopulated areas in the Hanna inspectorate. Sixty-seven local districts were incorporated into a single division. In its first year a saving of about thirteen thousand dollars was effected, with a corresponding reduction in the actual taxes paid in. In addition, a large part of the liabilities of the district was liquidated.

It was probably fortunate for the future of the large school unit that nothing was done immediately to implement the recommendations of the Committee. Any attempt by the U.F.A. government to institute these reforms would probably have retarded the whole process towards unification. Fortunately, also, the election of 1935 gave the new government an overwhelming majority. Having just won an election they were able to undertake experiments that no former administration would have dared to attempt. Above all

the new Social Credit Party was composed of men who were eminently fitted for the task before them. The late Premier Aberhart was a Calgary school principal and in his ranks were teachers of real ability like Messrs. Tanner, Low, Hook, Ansley and others of strong professional loyalty like Messrs. Duke, Bourcier and MacLachlan. It seemed as if the past misfortunes of the teachers had contributed to the emergence of a new class of provincial and national leaders who were not too sensitive to criticism and were willing to sacrifice personal popularity to support a commendable cause.

In the fall of 1935, Premier Aberhart, who was also Minister of Education, announced that the government would attempt to introduce a system of larger units at the earliest opportunity. A pamphlet¹ was issued outlining the weaknesses of the existing system and the advantages of the new plan. It is interesting to note that the proposed organization followed, to a great extent, the ideas of the former minister. The appointment of superintendents was still to be in the hands of the Minister of Education. There was to be an elected board of five directors to administer the affairs of the division. In order to meet the criticism that power was too far removed from the people who supported the schools, each local school district was to elect an advisory committee of three members. This committee was to have the power to advise the Divisional Board on all matters which concerned the local district. The whole Division was to constitute the taxing area to provide funds required, but the municipal authorities were to remain the tax collecting agencies. On the other hand, the units were to be much smaller than originally planned. Instead of the twenty divisions the new plan envisioned about forty-five in the province.

1. "What Is and What Might Be in Rural Education". This pamphlet was published by the authority of the Minister of Education.

There was an outburst of criticism almost immediately. To a large extent the criticism came from those who had been in opposition to the newly elected members in the recent election. As the members had been elected in spite of their opposition it was not likely they could exert as much personal influence upon the course of events. The Alberta School Trustees' Association resorted to the tactics of the previous year. A delegation was sent to interview the government and to influence members to block the move.¹ To their demand that the change be postponed for a year, the Premier replied that that would only be postponing the experiment for one year. Furthermore, he intimated that the change would come about gradually.² In the new school bill the Minister of Education was empowered to set up new districts by order without a vote of the ratepayers.³

In the Legislature there was little opposition to the measure. The Government had too overwhelming a majority for the same tactics to be employed as had prevailed against the measure proposed by the former minister. Furthermore the parties to the left of the treasury benches had approved the change in principle when the Report of the Legislative Committee on Rural Schools had been accepted. To the opposition of the trustees the best answer was given by the member from Whitford, Mr. William Tomin, who declared that he could not see how six hundred and fifty trustees in Convention could dictate to the provincial government with the majority of the people behind them.

1. A.T.A. Magazine, March, 1936, p. 1.

2. Edmonton Journal, February 18, 1936.

3. Edmonton Bulletin, March 18, 1936.

Thus ended the struggle to place education in Alberta in the forefront as an example to provinces who only dared to hope that such a measure might be considered at some future date. It was a daring venture for any government.

In the fall of 1936 eleven large units comprising seven hundred and forty-four school districts were organized. In the first year of operation substantial savings were made in the management of districts in the south, but the northern area did not show as great a gain financially. Nevertheless economies were made everywhere in spite of larger salaries paid to teachers. In every instance the Divisions closed the year with salaries paid up. The increased supervision that was foreseen did not materialize in the first year, but a substantial program of repairs was carried out. This was especially important as, in many cases, school buildings had been neglected during six years of depression. Teachers were posted from one school to another with almost no friction. Even when it was found necessary to dismiss teachers there was very little trouble. Out of sixty cases before the Board of Reference not one case was from a larger unit. In addition to this, many schools embarked upon programs of health supervision, library service, and other services which could not have been contemplated under the small unit. Ample care was also taken of the High School population. The first year showed that the plan was eminently successful and the organization of other units progressed to such an extent that nearly all the schools in the province were in the large areas in 1940.

It seemed doubtful whether the large units would remain as there was still dissatisfaction in some of them in 1939. The criticism was especially bitter amongst some who had been school trustees or secretary treasurers under the old system. In addition some of the wealthier school districts in large units had their taxes raised to aid the poorer schools

in the same area. There were threats of tax strikes. Fortunately there was no group to take advantage of this opposition. The old Alberta School Trustees' Association which might have served as a rallying point for reactionaries gave place to a new but smaller body of trustees from the large units who showed no inclination to lead a revolt against their own administration of these large units. On the part of many there was even enthusiasm because of the increased facilities in education. The various political groups also refrained from criticizing the new order in the election of 1940. However unwilling they might have been themselves to institute reforms in education in the face of opposition from the ratepayers and school trustees, they recognized the need for such reforms and tacitly agreed to give the large units a trial. Not only did the war attract more attention as it continued but the resulting increased prosperity tended to make people more tolerant of changes at home. Opposition to large units gradually subsided as it had done over the institution of "free schools". It is not likely that the new generation will want to surrender the benefits which have been gained through the new system to return to the old individual school district.

Fortunately too the new organization came at a time when there was a new spirit abroad for reform. In the general desire to improve living conditions education has not been neglected. Though the new curriculum was designed as recently as 1936 further modifications compatible with changing conditions are now being considered. In the past few years the success of training schemes in the Armed Forces, together with the desire of governments to give the returned men and women an opportunity for further education, have given adult education a new importance. Composite and Community High Schools are being planned to provide better facilities both for high school

students and adults. The School of Education at the University of Alberta has been raised to the status of a Faculty of Education and it is planned to combine the whole teacher training program under the Faculty of Education.

The Alberta teachers are in a good position to give effect to the new program. Much remains to be done. Salaries are not high enough to attract the young men and women who will be returning from the Armed Forces. Stability of tenure still remains low in rural and village schools but it is high as compared to the situation in other provinces. They control their own profession and have introduced a measure of fairness and stability into salary negotiations with the Boards of the Large Units. However, the new order has placed greater responsibilities on the teachers themselves. The danger of the future is that they may imbibe some of the conservatism that motivated the rural school trustee in the past. Nevertheless as long as there are curricular changes to promote a spirit and progress with a resulting increase in scholarship, smugness will have very little chance to develop. Furthermore the large unit should provide a wider scope for unselfish effort which could not be utilized in the past. The teachers should be ready to do their part in education for the social changes which are coming.

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